AKAN WITCHCRAFT AND THE CONCEPT OF EXORCISM IN THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

by

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Witchcraft and "exorcisms" have dominated African cultures and posed problems for African people. This thesis is a study of the current exorcistic ministry within a Pentecostal church in Ghana with reference to the Akan culture. The general opinion gathered from current anthropological studies on witchcraft is that the ultimate goal of exorcism is to become modernised. However, using interdisciplinary studies with a theological focus, the thesis departs from this, and contends that it is divinatory-consultation or an inquiry into the sacred and the search for meaning that underlies the current "deliverance" ministry, where the focus is to identify and break down the so-called demonic forces by the power of God in order to "deliver" people from their torment. It represents a further attempt to contextualise the gospel to African people. However, its preoccupation with demonisation and its exorcistic practices are found to bring Christianity into tension with the Akan culture, family ties and other religions. Therefore, to develop a properly safeguarded ministry of exorcism in an African context, the thesis examines contextualisation and suggests that it includes the integration of divinatory-consultation, which the thesis claims underlies the biblical concept of prayer, into African Christianity.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	The Apostolic Church
CoP	The Church of Pentecost
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1 THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

Until recently, an overlooked approach to theology was the contextualisation of the Christian message into the indigenous culture. Therefore, dealing with African cosmology had always been a problem to the Christian missionaries. African cosmology is characterised by a preoccupation with good and evil spirits. There is the Supreme Being who created all things and manifests his power through a pantheon of gods who can be evil or good. The principal evil is attributed to witchcraft, since it is held that all the evil forces can be in league with witches to effect an evil act. There are the ever-present spirits of the ancestors whose constant contact with the living (family), through ceremonies performed by the elders, safeguard social stability and prevent the disruption of sociocosmic harmony by spirits of evil intent.

For the African, to achieve the expected abundant life (expressed in terms of increase in children, crops and goods, good health and long life), ethnic groups, clans, families and individuals often come under the tutelage of powerful gods or consult "spiritually powerful persons," such as traditional priests and "sorcerers," for spiritual guidance.[1] Such "powerful persons" often reveal the wishes of the ancestors and/or hindrances to progress in people's life and then prescribe the right type of solution, such as protection through the giving of amulets or rituals needed in the situations. People who are

[1] For different types of "spiritually powerful persons" and the definition of sorcerers see Chapter Two, sections 2.5 and 3.1.

considered witches or are possessed by spirits of evil intent, when found out, either through the prognosis of traditional priests or any other means, are exorcised by "powerful persons." All of religion and life revolve around the indissoluble link between the living family and the ancestors (the living dead), and the protection, "deliverance/exorcism" and directive that the ancestors offer through the prognostications of the "powerful persons." Exorcism therefore plays a major role in the activities of the religious life of many ethnic groups in Africa.

When Christianity was re-planted among the West African people in the 1800s, on the one hand, the missionaries taught that the belief in the spirit-forces, such as the gods and witchcraft was superstitious.[2] Yet, on the other hand, they also presented the devil and demons as the power behind these spirit-forces.[3] By the introduction of a personalised devil and the association of the gods with demons, the missionaries had unconsciously strengthened the belief in these gods and witchcraft, yet they had failed to provide for the holistic needs of the people (such as protection, healing and deliverance). For the Africans, these images were real life-threatening forces.[4]

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[2] For instance, see J. Kofi Agbeti, *West Africa Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations 1482-1919* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 3-112; Peter Bernard Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity: A Study of Religious Development from the 15th to 20th Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), 7-26, 41-42, 57-62; Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967), 7-100; Ralph M. Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History 1471-1880* (Techny: Divine Word Publication, 1956).

[3] For example, in Ghana, the evidence indicates that wherever the missionaries went, they opposed, often successfully, almost all features of Ghanaian customs and religion without giving much consideration to them. For discussions on the missionaries' encounters with the Ghanaian people, see F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965; Noel Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960: A Younger Church in a Changing Society* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1966); Harris W. Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanaians 1897-1965* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970).

[4] For example, see E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937). Hans W. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana: A Study on the Belief in Destructive Witches and Its Effects on the Akan Tribes*, 1959 (Accra: Presbyterian Book Depot Ltd., 1961).

Consequently, from the early part of the twentieth century, a variety of exorcistic activities (anti-witchcraft shrines) have dominated African states. Even when the colonial regimes suppressed these witchcraft activities because they thought they hampered progress, they re-emerged within the African Initiated Churches and later in a movement within the classical Pentecostal churches.[5] In Ghana, as soon as one of these movements expends itself, another of a similar nature springs up with a larger following. As a result, at present, almost all churches in Ghana include exorcistic activities, referred to as "deliverance" in their programmes, since failure to do so amounts to losing members to churches that include such activities. While contemporary advocates of the contextualisation of Christianity among various cultures indirectly promote the activities of these exorcistic ministries, societal responses[6] and personal observation show that the approach and practices do not bring release to Ghanaian society; they often create confusion. Thus, they lack a theological framework and pastoral considerations. This study is an attempt to investigate and interpret why witchcraft and exorcism continue to persist among the Akan people of Ghana in Christianity and then to find a theological framework for the exorcistic ministry, using the Church of Pentecost as a case study. Two hypotheses have been formulated for this purpose:

[5] For the definition of term "classical Pentecostal," see section 6 below.

[6] This is apparent in some of the newspaper presentations on the subject, for example, see M. Amuzu, "Witchcraft," *The Mirror* (Accra), 25 October 1997, 4; K. Charm, "Witchcraft," *Truth & Life* (Accra), September/October 1997, 1, 9: 2-3, 8; Dave Agbenu, "Man, 30, Clubs Wife to Death," *Ghanaian Times* (Accra), 19 August 1999, 1: 1; A. Afrifa, "Development: Beliefs That Have Harmed Mankind," *The Ghanaian Chronicle on the Web* (www.ghanaian.chronicle.com/210502/page4a.htm), 2 May 2001, 4.

(i) Underneath major religious activities and revival movements, including the current deliverance ministry among the Akan people, is *abisa*, the desire to consult, inquire, divine and know the supernatural causalities of affairs, or what can be termed "divinatory-consultation."

(ii) Since exorcism often follows *abisa*, it (exorcism) continues to pose problems for Akan Christians because *abisa* has not been effectively contextualised into the framework of Akan Christianity

2 SIGNIFICANCE AND AIM OF STUDY

Following Evans-Pritchard's research into witchcraft among the Azande of the Central Africa and his advancement of the misfortune or the explanation theory,[7] the African phenomenon of witchcraft has become prominent on the agenda of anthropologists.[8] Since Hans Debrunner's research in Ghana, in 1959, which demonstrated that witchcraft belief was the outcome of social instability such as famine, rapid change, oppression and economic distress[9] and Margaret Field's case studies and analysis of so-called witches in Ghana, which revealed how witchcraft was rooted in the psychological reactions of those suffering from ill health, misfortunes and inability to control their

[7] Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft.*
[8] Significant are the works of J. Clyde Mitchell, Middleton and Winter, Max Marwick, Mary Douglas and others who theorised the function of witchcraft as a release of tension within certain types of African social structure. J. Clyde Mitchell, *The Yao Village: A Study in the Social Structure a Nyanssaland Tribe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956); John Middleton and E. H. Winter, eds. *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa* (London: Regan Paul, 1963); Max G. Marwick, *Sorcery in Its Social Setting: A Study of the Northern Rhodesian Cewa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965) ; Mary Douglas, ed. *Witchcraft Confession and Accusations* (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1970); Max G. Marwick, *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, 1970, Second Edition (London: Penguin Books, 1982); M. Gluckman, *Customs and Conflicts in Africa* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959).
[9] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*.

destinies,[10] there has been no major academic research on the subject among the Akan people. The current studies on witchcraft in Africa, such as those of Peter Geschiere, Birgit Meyer,[11] and Jean and John Comaroff, show that the concept is no longer "traditional" but operates as a very important aspect of "modernity."[12] This thesis updates materials relating to witchcraft and shows how they are currently linked to Pentecostal practices among the Akan.

Furthermore, studies on Christianity in Africa have focused on the mainline churches, African Initiated Churches and African theology.[13] Among those churches which are under-researched are the classical Pentecostals, to which the Church of Pentecost belongs. Beside the fact that this study is about the Church of Pentecost, a cursory review of the literature on African Christianity shows that there has not been a deliberate attempt to investigate and study a particular topic like exorcism, which

[10] Margaret J. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937); Margaret J. Field, *Search for Security: An Ethno-Psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960).

[11] Strictly speaking Meyer's main work is not on witchcraft. She presents ethnography of the emergence of a local Christianity and its relation to changing social, political, economic developments among the Peki Ewe in Ghana. Yet she focuses on the image of the devil which the missionary communicated to the people which has currently received attention by local Christianity. Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

[12] Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997); Birgit Meyer, "Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVII, no. 3 (1998): 316-49; Birgit Meyer, "Commodities and Power of Prayer: Pentecostalist Attitudes Toward Consumption in Contemporary Ghana," *Development and Change* 29 (1998): 751-76; Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff eds., *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[13] For example, see U. Ogbu Kalu, ed., *The History of Christianity in West Africa* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1980); Peter Falk, *The Growth of the Church in Africa* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1979); John Appiah-Kubi & Sergio Torres eds., *African Theology En Route: Papers from the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians, December 17-23, 1977, Accra, Ghana* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979); Emmanuel K. Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995); Christian Goncalves Kwami Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana: A Study of 'Spiritual Churches'* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1962); David B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968); Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*

features prominently in Africans' Christian and religious lives. Yet as far back as 1963 John V. Taylor made a call for "the development of some properly safeguarded ministry of exorcism" in the Church of Africa.[14] Currently Mary Douglas, M. L. Daneel and Paul Gifford have all made similar explicit calls.[15] Gifford, for example, sees deliverance as "perhaps Ghanaian Christianity's most pressing issue."[16] Thus there has been a persistent need and call for a contextualised local theology which serves as a framework for exorcistic activities of the churches in Africa. This thesis is partly a response to such calls and as such a contribution to the ongoing formation of African Christian theology from a Pentecostal perspective.

Again, on the global level classical Pentecostalism has resisted the idea that Pentecostal spirituality is similar to indigenous traditions and practices. Thus when Harvey Cox proposed that the growth of Pentecostalism on a global level might be the recovery of what he calls "primal spirituality,"[17] his proposition was received with the reservation that he was associating the fibre of Pentecostalism with indigenous traditions.[18] The

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(Edinburgh: Obis Books, 1995); Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity* (Accra: CPCS, 2001), see foreword by Paul Gifford.

[14] John V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision - Christian Presence Amid African Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1963), 211.

[15] Mary Douglas, "Sorcery Accusation Unleashed: The Lele Revisited," *Africa* 69, no. 2 (2000): 190; M. L. Daneel, "Exorcism as a Means of Combating Wizardry: Liberation or Enslavement," *Missionalia* 18, no. 1 (1990): 225. Gifford's concern was that there is the need for more research "to discover exactly what is the understanding of demons in African charismatic Christianity." Paul Gifford, "Ghanaian Charismatic Churches," *Journal of African Religion* 64, no. 3 (1994): 255 cf. 241-46. Birgit Meyer observes the importance of Gifford's "explicit call." Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 174; cf. Birgit Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness.' Confessions of a Satanic Riches in Christian Ghana," *Africa* 65, no. 2 (1995): 136-37.

[16] Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), 108.

[17] Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), 81.

[18] This is conveyed in the published responses by Pentecostals/Charismatics on his book. See, for example, Gary B. McGee, "Review of Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century," *Missiology* 24 (1996): 421; J. Rodman Williams, "Harvey Cox and Pentecostalism: A Review of Fire from Heaven," *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* 1

extent to which Pentecostals reject the indigenous cultures is demonstrated in the way in which the neo-Pentecostals in Africa, while unconsciously employing the tools of traditional practices, have also demonised numerous traditional practices.[19] One of the aims of this thesis is to explore the relationship that exists between a Pentecostal church's practices of exorcism and those of a traditional religion.

Finally, the "Dean of Pentecostal studies," Walter Hollenweger, has appealed for missionaries who are "bilingual" among theologians, that is, theologians who know "the literary conceptual language of the minority *and* the oral language of the majority."[20] Hollenweger's appeal coincides with my personal interest for undertaking this project. Having been a Pentecostal pastor for twenty-two years, who believed (and still believes) in the supernatural activities of God in this generation, I began to reflect on some of the preaching and methods used in deliverance and healing, which sometimes caused confusion among society and made it appear that we (practitioners of healing and deliverance) were manipulating God into action. At the same time I did not agree with some theologians who thought that the charismata had ceased. I thought that to bring a balance, people who understood both positions, that is, those who believe in the supernatural and also have sound theological knowledge, should initiate a dialogue.

(1998): 23-26. For a critical analysis of Harvey Cox's assertion, see Amos Yong, *Discerning the Spirit (s): A Pentecostal-Charismatic Contribution to Christian Theology of Religions* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

[19] For example, see Gifford, *African Christianity*, 76-109; Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan D. Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (London: Routledge, 1996), 151-78; Meyer, "Delivered from the Powers of Darkness"; Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVII, no. 3 (1998): 258-77; Ruth Marshall-Fratani, "Mediating the Global and the Local in Nigeria Pentecostalism," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3 (1998): 278-315.

[20] Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 295.

This challenged me to begin an academic study on the subject of exorcism, which is an important aspect of the supernatural activities of God in Ghana. Thus, I see this project as a contribution to the appeal which Hollenweger has made. Such missionary enterprise is reflected in the two phases of my own works used in this project. The initial works, written during the period I was pastoring churches, demonstrate an example of the sort of local theologising, in Hollenweger's words, "orality" (passim), which goes on within classical Pentecostalism.[21] The other works, written during the period of my academic studies, demonstrate in a way the sort of missionary work for which Hollenweger appeals.[22]

3 THE NEED FOR CONTEXTUALISATION

At no time in history has the task of doing theology from within one's own cultural heritage been more stressed than this present age.[23] Contextualisation has been a *sine*

[21] These works are Opoku Onyinah, *Are Two Persons the Same: How to Overcome your Weaknesses in Temperament* (Accra: The Church of Pentecost, 1991); Opoku Onyinah, *Basic Lesson for Christians* (Accra: Pentecost Press limited, 1991); Opoku Onyinah, *Vital Lesson on the Holy Spirit* (Accra: Pentecost Press Limited, 1993); Opoku Onyinah, *Ancestral Curses* (Accra: The Church of Pentecost, 1994); Opoku Onyinah, *Overcoming Demons* (Accra: The Church of Pentecost, 1995); Opoku Onyinah, *Taking the Ultimate Step in Marriage* (Accra: Pentecost Press Limited, 1996).

[22] These include Opoku Onyinah, "An Examination of Akan Witchcraft with Reference to the Supernatural Aspect of Evil in the Gospels, Dilating Specially on Demon Possession and Exorcism" (MTh. Diss., Regents Theological College, 1998); Opoku Onyinah, "Exorcism as a Way of Confronting Witchcraft in Modern Africa: Ghana as a Case History," *Paper Presented to the Themes in Modern History Seminar at Harris Manchester College, the University of Oxford* , 30 th April 30, 2001; Opoku Onyinah, "Deliverance as a Way of Confronting Witchcraft in Modern Africa: Ghana as a Case History," *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal Research*, July 2001 (http:/www.pctii.org/cyber10.html); also in *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5, no.1 (2002): 123-150; first presented at *the 10th International Theological Conference on the Holy Spirit Held at the Bethesda Christian University* Anaheim, USA, 28th May 2001; Opoku Onyinah, "Matthew Speaks to Ghanaian Healing Situations," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 10, no.1 (2001): 120-143.; Opoku Onyinah, "Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora: An Examination of the Missions Activities of the Church of Pentecost," forthcoming Article in *PNEUMA*.

[23] For example, see The Editors, "Introduction: What Do We Mean by Missiology," in *Missiology: An Ecumenical Introduction-Text and Contexts of Global Christianity*, A. Camps, Hoedemaker, M. R. Spindler and F. J. Verstraelen, eds. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 1-7; John Parratt, *A Guide to Doing Theology*, 1996, Second Impression (London: SPCK, 2000), 8; Robert J.

qua non as the Christian faith has sought its way and continues to seek its way in a diverse world of cultures.[24] The complexity of the term "culture" is shown in the varied definitions assigned to it by anthropologists and missiologists.[25] The one which this thesis employs, because of its simplified formula, is that of the anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, "culture is the total life way of a people, the social legacy the individual acquires from his group."[26] The definition shows that culture takes into account everything that makes the life of a person or a group of people. This include religious, linguistic, economic, social, political, psychological and ethical differences. Thus once people are born into a society they are conditioned by the members of their society, largely unconsciously, to accept as natural and to follow rather uncritically the cultural patterns of that society. Some anthropologists and missiologists advocate cultural relativity; as Kraft puts, "cultures are therefore both as good as each other and as bad as each other in shaping the way of life."[27] The implication here is that every culture has the potential for communicating and also concealing the revelation of God to its people. The process of communicating the gospel in meaningful and relevant ways is what contextualisation is about.

Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (London: SCM, 1985); Aylward Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* (London: Geoffrey, Chapman, 1988).

[24] The Editors, "Introduction: What Do We Mean by Missiology," in *Missiology: An Ecumenical Introduction-Text and Contexts of Global Christianity*, 1.

[25] For a number of such definitions, see Louis J. Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures: An Applied Anthropology for the Religious Worker* (Techny, Ill.: Divine Word, 1963), 59-60; Shorter, *Toward a Theology*, 4-5; David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), 68; Charles H. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Orbis: Maryknoll, 1979), 46.

[26] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1949), 60.

[27] Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 48.

Various terms have been used by missiologists to relate the ways in which the Christian faith is relevant and meaningful in a given culture. The terms include accommodation, adaptation, indigenisation, incarnation and inculturation. While some scholars, including African Catholic bishops[28] and the Dutch missiologist John Bavinck, reject the use of the term "accommodation" and, by implication, also "adaptation" in that "it connotes something of denial or a mutation,"[29] others, such as the Nigerian Evangelical theologian Byang Kato and the Missiologist David Hesselgrave, think that the Protestant equivalent term "indigenisation" is misleading because "it connotes too much."[30] The use of the term "incarnation" was disapproved by Pope Paul VI when African Catholic bishops had wanted to adopt it because, for them, it depicts Christianity in African culture.[31] The introduction of the term "inculturation" into missiology was thought to be the end of the struggling for terms, because as Buswell puts it, it conveys "the process of disengaging the supracultural elements of the gospel from one culture and contextualizing them within the cultural form and social institutions of another, with at least some degree of transformation of those forms and

[28] Shorter, *Toward a Theology*, 213. Shorter reports that the African Bishops officially rejected this at the Synod of Bishops at Rome in 1974.

[29] John Herman Bavinck, *An Introduction to the Science of Missions*, trans. David Hugh Freeman (The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company: Philadelphia, 1960), 178. See also David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, 1991, Eleventh Printing (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 294-95, 448-52.

[30] Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*, 83. Byang H. Kato, "The Gospel, Culture Context and Religious Syncretism," in *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, James Douglas, ed. (Minneapolis: Word Publications, 1975), 1217. For discussion on the terms, "accommodation," "adaptation" and "indigenisation," see also Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 294-5, 448-52; Martey, *African Theology*, 63-71.

[31] The Pope asked the African bishops to find a better expression of faith. In other words, for him, by the term "incarnation," they seemed to tread on dangerous diversified theologies. Martey, *African Theology*, 66. Yet the concept incarnation had been used in 1945 by Pope Pious XII, to express how the Church should relate the Christian message to the various cultures. Louis J. Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology*, 1963, Second Edition (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988), 69. There is the need to signal a note about the works of Luzbetak here. Since both of his editions on *The Church and Culture* are used, the 1963 edition is qualified as, *The Church and Culture (Original)* while the 1988 edition is left as, *The Church and Culture.*

institutions…."[32] Nevertheless, as Shorter observes "many find it an ugly and uninspiring word."[33] Presently, the widely used term is contextualisation.[34] Although the term is variedly defined,[35] generally, missiologists accept that the term is used with reference to terms and methods previously used in relation to the integration of culture into the Christian message.[36] Luzbetak understands it as, "the various processes by which a local church integrates the Gospel message (the "text") with its local culture (the "context").[37] This thesis adopts Luzbetak's definition for working, because beside the fact that it is simple and clear, with the inclusion of the words, "processes," "local," "church" and "culture," it appears as an embodiment of most of the previous terms.

Generally there are three approaches to contextualisation.[38] These are a liberational type, a dialectical type, and a translational type or dynamic equivalence model. A liberational type interprets the Christian faith from the perspective of the poor and the oppressed. In this regard theology follows praxis as the second stage. This is represented by Latin American liberation theology and Black theology (initiated by

[32] James O Buswell 111, "Contextualization: Theory, Tradition and Method," in *Theology and Mission*, David J. Hesselgrave, ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978), 90.
[33] Shorter, *Toward a Theology*, 10. Beside this the term has not achieved general usage. See Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*, 83.
[34] Significantly it was the Nigerian theologian Kato who introduced the term to the International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1974, as "a new term imported to express a deeper concept than indigenization ever does." Kato, *The Gospel, Culture Context*, 1217; cf. Buswell, "Contextualization," 87.
[35] For example, see O. Imasogie, "Contextualization and Theological Education," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 9, no. 1 (1985): 55-59; Karl Müller, "Inculturation," in *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives*, Karl Müller, Theo Sundermeler, Stephen B. Bevans and Richard H. Bliese Peter, eds. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1997), 198.
[36] Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*, 83; Buswell, "Contextualization," 90; Müller, "Inculturation," 198.
[37] Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures*, 69.
[38] Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures*, 79.

African Americans).[39] Although the advocates of African theology have different focuses,[40] Martey rightly sees that they have a common ground toward "a liberative theological praxis."[41] Since both approaches have been criticised for using the tools of liberal theology,[42] which some Pentecostals see as the agent of the devil,[43] it may be inappropriate to adopt this approach, at least at present, in writing a local theology of exorcism from a West African Pentecostal's perspective.[44]

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[39] For reading on the liberational type, see Dean William Ferm, ed., *Third World Liberation Theologies: An Introductory Survey*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1986); Alfred Hennelly, *Liberation Theologies: The Global Pursuit of Justice* (Mystic, Connecticut: Twenty-Third Publication, 1995); Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1973). James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore, "Black Theology: Statement by the National Committee of Black Churchmen," in *Black Theology: A Documentary History, Volume 1 1966-1979* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1993)

[40] Currently there are two main theological concerns on the agenda of African theologians. Firstly is that which is often defined as African theology; the central issue is the nature of African pre-Christian religious life and values and their relationship of continuity rather than discontinuity with Christian' belief. Secondly is what Martey describes as "liberation, with emphasis on the continent's politico-socioeconomic realities," which finds expression in Black theology in South Africa and African liberation theology and African women's theology. Emmanuel K. Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995), 69. For further reading on African Theology, see also Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992), Appiah-Kubi & Torres, *African Theology En Route*; E. Bolaji Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1965); E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1973); John S. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1986); John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1970).

[41] Martey, *African Theology*, 5.

[42] The major critique against liberation theology is that it "has a strong social concern and rejects both the tendency to interpret the Christian faith in otherworldly categories and excessive individualism." For a good discussion on this, see Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 438-40. Similarly, some African theologians are accused of using the tools of liberal theology as they appreciate critical methods of biblical study. See, for example, Kwasi A. Dickson, "African Theology: Origin, Methodology and Contents," *Journal of Religious Thought* 32 (1975): 42; John S. Mbiti, *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 66, 89, 172, 179; John S. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1986), 61; J. W. Kurewa, "The Meaning of African Theology," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 11, no. 34-42 (1975): 36-39. Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992), 434; cf. Richard J. Gehman, *Doing African Christian Theology: An Evangelical Perspective* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1987), 44-98; Byang H. Kato, *Theological Pitfalls in Africa* (Kisumu (Kenya): Evangelical Publishing House, 1975).

[43] Cf. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 194.

[44] It must however be said that with regards to Latin American Pentecostalism, some scholars have used this approach. See Cheryl Bridges Johns, *Pentecostal Formation: A Pedagogy among the Oppressed*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998; Samuel Solivan, *The Spirit, Pathos and Liberation: Toward an Hispanic Pentecostal Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

A dialectical type approaches the task of contextualisation through three poles of the Gospel, the universal tradition of the Church and the local culture. It is represented by Robert Schreiter and Louis Luzbetak's 1988 edition of *Church and Cultures*.[45] The major problem with this approach is its requirement for an encounter with the universal church tradition for constructing a local theology.[46] Often in the attempt to engage with church tradition, that is, to enter into dialogue to test, affirm and challenge the understanding of the gospel in a local culture, what appears to be contextualisation becomes westernisation.[47] Thus the church tradition may become the second scripture. For this weakness and also considering the diversity of Pentecostal practises, this may not be an appropriate approach for this project.

A translational type assumes that since the writers of the Bible were also conditioned by their own culture, a good way of making the biblical message meaningful to a contemporary culture is to decontextualise the message to arrive at the supracultural element and then express it in terms and contexts which are meaningful in the local culture.[48] This is represented by Charles Kraft, David Hesselgrave and Luzbetak's 1963 edition of *Church and Cultures*.[49] The dynamic approach does not completely displace

[45] Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures*; Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*.
[46] Cf. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 75-76; Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 36-37. Nonetheless, Martey recommends the dialectical type for the construction of African theologies; Martey, *African Theology*, 121-37.
[47] Cf. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 75-76, cf. Charles H. Kraft, "Measuring Indigeneity," in *Readings in Dynamic Indigeneity*, Charles H. Kraft and Tom N. Wisley (Pasadena, 1979), 118-52.
[48] Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*, 85-86; Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 23-42; Norman R. Ericson, "Implications from the New Testament for Contextualisation," in *Theology and Mission*, 81-84.
[49] Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*, Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures*.

church traditions, but since it is held that church traditions are not inspired, they are mainly employed when they become meaningful in the local culture.

Kraft argues that biblical Christianity should imitate in their day what Jesus, Paul and other Christians such as Calvin and Wesley did in theirs. According to him, these leaders did "not simply *preserve* the theological and organizational products that they produced" (his emphasis),[50] rather whenever they faced problems, they claimed the leading of the Spirit and worked out solutions.[51] Therefore, theologians are encouraged to adapt their approach to the realities of the new situations

The missionary or an outsider has a three-culture model of communication, of the Bible culture, the missionary culture and the respondent culture. His greatest task is to decode or decontextualise the biblical message and then with minimal intrusion of his own cultural understanding, encode the message in a culturally relevant form in the target culture.[52] The precise cultural forms in which the meaning is expressed really matter little to the advocates of this approach.[53] The concern here is that the local church must be planted in the soil, not just transported from one to another. An insider is preferred to be an agent of this approach because of the strong emphasis on the need to express the message in cultural ways.[54] This does not mean that the insider does not have a similar problem of decoding the biblical message from Western Christianity as it was handed to the insider by the missionaries. Yet the insider has the greatest advantage of

[50] Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 37-38.
[51] Biblical texts he uses to support his arguments include Acts 6:1-6; Acts 15:1; Acts 19-29.
[52] Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*, 75-76.
[53] For example, see Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 169-94.

knowing his/her own culture without having to study it. Some objections, however, have been raised to this approach, especially Kraft's dynamic equivalence model;[55] perhaps the major one is its failure to possibly engage in active dialogue with universal Church tradition.[56]

Despite the inherent weakness of the dynamic equivalence model, this thesis adopts it as its main approach to contextualisation, most importantly because of its advocacy of the *emic* approach. Nevertheless, since the three approaches "are not mutually exclusive,"[57] the thesis allows the incorporation of some important features of the other approaches that are relevant for its purpose.

The project is not an attempt to systematize a doctrine of exorcism for Ghana. Rather it is assumed that there has been a contextualisation of exorcism, emerging as a local theology, within Ghanaian Christianity. The exorcistic ministry in the Church of Pentecost is cited as an example. The task of the thesis is to find out the kind of contextualisation that has taken place already, the strengths and weaknesses of it and

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[54] Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 345-81, cf. Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures (Original edition)*, 196-203, 210-11 with Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures* (1988 edition), 80.

[55] These include, first, the misuse of the communication and social sciences in his attempt of interdisciplinary integration. Second, the misuse of the communication and social sciences in biblical interpretation from an evangelical perspective. Third, the misuse of the communication and social sciences in his biblical interpretation and missiological formulation in light of his theoretical and methodological root being a linguist/communicologist. Fourth, the misuse of the communication and social sciences in his missiological formulation from an evangelical perspective. For such critiques see, for example, Enoch Wan, "A Critique of Charles Kraft's Use/Misuse of Communication and the Social Sciences in Biblical Interpretation and Missiological Formulation," in *Missiology and the Social Sciences: Contributions, Cautions and Conclusions*, Rommen and Gary Corwin, eds. (Pasadena, 1996), 121-64; Edward Gross, *Is Charles Kraft An Evangelical? A Critique of Christianity in Culture* (Elkins Park: Christian Beacon Press, 1985).

[56] See Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures*, 405, footnote 3; cf. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 75-94.

[57] Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures*, 79.

from that add to it, what Robert Schreiter observes to be the role of a professional theologian.[58] Thus this is a deliberate attempt to contextualise and offer pastoral reflections on exorcism.[59]

4 METHODOLOGY

A thesis of this nature is necessarily interdisciplinary, although with a theological focus. Thus I make incursions into fields other than those with which I am familiar.

Anthropological studies available on the subject are used to find out the research that has been carried out on Akan cosmology, especially witchcraft, and the interpretations that have been offered for witchcraft beliefs and the dealings with it. Sociological literature is examined for reasons similar to those related to anthropological literature used. In addition, they are also examined to find out how witchcraft and exorcism are used as means of reinforcing social cohesion or division in Akan society. Psychological tools available are utilised to find out how witchcraft and exorcism are involved in psychological issues such as mental processes, human behaviour and human consciousness, and methodologies used in exorcism.[60] Historical studies are explored to find out the development of exorcism within Christianity in Ghana, culminating in the exorcistic ministry of the Church of Pentecost.

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[58] Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies*, 18.

[59] Much work is carried out on the need for contextualisation, without contextualising. Therefore biblical scholar and missionary to Zaire, Keith Ferdinando, observes that although there is much talk on contextualisation, yet "the urgent need of contextualisation of the gospel … is only slowly met." This thesis offers an alternative contextualisation of exorcism to existing ones in Ghana. Keith Ferdinando, "Screwtape Revisited: Demonology Western, African and Biblical," in *The Unseen World: Christian Reflections on Angels, Demons and the Heavenly Realms*, Anthony N. S. Lane, ed. (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1996), 131.

[60] Cf. J. G. Kennedy, "Psychological and Sociological Explanations of Witchcraft," *Man* 57 (1967): 216.

Biblical studies made on the subjects are used to allow at least a summary of the diverse voices of biblical references on the subject to be heard before attempting to construct an alternative contextualisation of exorcism from the Akan context in the Church of Pentecost.[61] A pastoral approach is adopted to consider some ethical and practical issues with regard to exorcism and also used to offer some reflections for practical church situations.

The procedure used in data analysis was both qualitative and quantitative. The reason was to compare the two and have a wide perspective of the current beliefs and practices of the phenomena of witchcraft and exorcism. The fieldwork covered all the major sub-ethnic groupings of the Akan people.[62] The data include personal interviews with people of varying degrees of experience and backgrounds, totalling one hundred and twenty-three. These include twelve self-claimed witches,[63] five self-claimed delivered witches,[64] six self-claimed delivered traditional priests, seven practising traditional priests, fifty-nine exorcists,[65] pastors, other church leaders and "ordinary people,"[66] sixteen theologians, medical practitioners and other scholars, and eighteen chiefs, queens and other traditional leaders in Akan society. Sometimes informal interviews were conducted as I visited garages, market places, church services (discussion after the close of the meeting), boarded public transport (either *trotro* run by private people or

[61] This is important since the Pentecostals whom I examined use the Bible as their basis for exorcism.
[62] This included Asante, Akuapem, Denkyira, Brong Ahafo, Akyem, Kwahu, Fanti, Wassa and Sefwi.
[63] It is extremely difficult for people to come out as witches among the Akan community. It was advantageous to get such people for interviews.
[64] In addition thirteen informal interviews were conducted with self-claimed delivered witches. They did not want the interviews to go on record.
[65] Exorcists included prayer camp leaders, elders and pastors who were involved in the "ministry of deliverance."
[66] Informal interviews were carried out with many ordinary people.

coach type run by the government). Since such informal interviews, or appropriately put conversations, could not be considered authentic, I followed up stories which emerged out of these discussions for formal interviews. Interviews lasted between 15 minutes to three hours, depending upon the interest of the interviewees.[67] Most of these interviews were conducted in Akan and tape recorded. Where the interviewee did not allow tape recording, notes were taken. I listened to all recorded tapes several times and then transcribed those which were relevant for the project. Throughout the thesis references have been provided on interviews which were used. Most of the surnames of the interviewees who were interviewed in relation with witchcraft issues have been altered and/or replaced with initials. This was done to protect the identity of such people, since among the Akan people witchcraft is associated with stigmatisation.

Questionnaires regarding witchcraft belief and exorcism were completed by 1201 participants at all the places visited. Of these, 945 came from the Church of Pentecost, the rest, 256, came from other denominations and religions.[68] The purpose of including other denominations and religions in the survey was to find out how the sampling (the case study) of the Church of Pentecost reflected the beliefs and practices of other denomination and religions.[69] As Marsh argues, "there are some issues which most people have stable and fairly consistent views," which can be found out through a

[67] Initially I had wanted each interview to be conducted around 30 minutes but I realised that often most of the people wanted to share their life experiences. In allowing them to share their experiences, I was able to gather the information I needed.

[68] 30 out of the 256 respondents came from other religions, including Islam and Traditional Religion. Since the tables drawn featured denominations, the other religions have been placed under the classification "not applicable," which means they are not church denominations. For example, see Tables F and G.

[69] See Appendix 1 for a sample of the questionnaire.

survey.[70] The aim of the questionnaires was not to present some sophisticated analysis on witchcraft beliefs but to find out the contemporary public beliefs about witchcraft. Therefore the data from the survey conducted has been entered into the SPSS research database.[71] The data has been coded into age groups, educational background, profession/occupation, ethnicity, sex, marital status, religion, region in Ghana and hometown. I have analysed the statistics, drawn tables, and compared and contrasted the results in various areas in the thesis.[72]

Detailed phenomenological data were gathered at deliverance meetings which I attended. At most of these places I was a participant observer.[73] The advantage of this is that the accounts given were rooted in the natural setting of what was being described and thus very different from the interviews and survey, which created artificial situations in which the data were collected.[74] The purpose here was to compare the "artificiality of the interviews and survey" with the normal events in the settings to give a clearer picture of terms being used, phenomena observed, and how participants behaved in different circumstance.

[70] Catherine Marsh, *The Survey Method: The Contribution of Surveys to Sociological Explanation*, Martin Bulmer, ed. Contemporary Research Series (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 146.
[71] SPSS is easy-to-use statistical software. Once the data have been entered into the data editor, one can select items from a pull-down menu to make appropriate transformations to variables, click on options from another menu to create graphs of distributions of variables, select various statistical analyses by clicking on appropriate options, and more.
[72] Cf. Peil sees this sort of analysis as very important for this approach. See Margaret Peil, *Social Science Research Methods: A Handbook for Africa* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1982), 133-53.
[73] By this I mean that I attended exorcistic and church meetings, and observed, watched, listened, talked with people, and took records of proceedings. Sometimes by permission from the leaders, I recorded some of the activities on a tape recorder.
[74] Cf. Patrick McNeill, *Research Methods*, 1985, Second Edition (London: Routledge, 1990), 69; Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1983), 119.

My personal experience, as one born and bred in Akan land, and also as a pastor of the Church of Pentecost since 1976, also came into play in the collection of data. These might all have some negative and positive influences on the thesis. The negative sides were that people who were known to me might have found it difficult to spell out their views, and I might have conducted the research with my own bias. Being aware of these probabilities, I tried, as Spradley recommends for participant observers, to alternate "between the insider and outsider experience, and having both simultaneously." [75] The positive sides, however, were that past conversations and interactions with church and traditional leaders, participation and observation of traditional ceremonies and deliverance services were all valuable instruments. Again church documents, such as files, minutes, reports and pastoral letters, which could not be easily accessed by an outsider were all available to me. From this perspective, therefore, both insider and outsider may have similar problems, but perhaps, as currently "there have been calls for participant observation to be used as a supplement or complement to other methods,"[76] being an insider might have given me a better advantage to carry out the project.

The data collected from interviews and deliverance meetings were subjected to qualitative analyses. Qualitative analysis is necessarily dialectical.[77] The analyses began with what Clifford Geertz calls "thick description."[78] Therefore, from a Pentecostal perspective, in which Walter Hollenweger has stressed the importance of

[75]James P. Spradley, *Participant Observation* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1980), 57.
[76] Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography*, 11.
[77] Danny L. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 1989), 110.
[78] Quoted in Lewis R. Rambo and Lawrence A , "The Phenomenology of Conversion," in *Handbook on Religious Conversion*, H. Newton. Malony and S. Southard, eds. (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious

orality,[79] the testimonies, narratives and rituals examined were described vividly. They were then examined for patterns and relationship, sometimes in connection with ideas from anthropological, sociological, psychological or theological literature, existing theories or hunches that emerged during my fieldwork or common-sense.[80] With ideas in hand, I provided interpretations for the materials and then evaluated them critically. These processes were repeated several times to test their theoretical conceptions.

A major part of the research was based on literature consultation, mainly at the ORLC[81] and the Main library at the University of Birmingham. The library of Regents Theological College, Nantwich, was also consulted. During my fieldwork in Ghana, I also carried out literature research at both Balme and the Institute of African Studies libraries at the University of Ghana and also at the library of Akrofi Christaller Centre at Akropong. Also, I consulted the Church of Pentecost head office and other church offices to collect, read and analyse accessible church files, minutes and other documents, such as pastoral letters. Some archival research was also carried out at the Ghana National Archives at Koforidua and Kumasi. During the period of studies, I visited the US on three occasions. I took the opportunity to carry out literature research

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Education Press, 1992). See also Clark Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 122-23; Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography*, 175-76.

[79] He explained that the root and growth of Pentecostalism depend upon its oral theology. This includes orality in liturgy; narrativity of theology and witness; maximum participation at the levels of reflection, prayer and decision-making and therefore a form of community that is reconciliatory; inclusion of dreams and visions in personal and public forms of worship; an understanding of body/mind relationship that is informed by experience of correspondence between body and mind, the most striking application of this insight being the ministry of healing and liturgical dance. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 18-19; Walter J. Hollenweger, "The Black Roots of Pentecostalism," in *Pentecostals After a Century: Global Perspective on a Movement in Transition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 14-21; Walter J. Hollenweger, "Charismatic Renewal in Third World: Implications for Mission," *Occasional Bulletin of Mission Research* 4 (1980): 68-76; see also Russell P. Spittler, "Implicit Values in Pentecostal Mission," *Missiology* 16, no. 4 (1988):410-425.

[80] Cf. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation*, 110; Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography*, 175.

at the libraries of Southwestern Theological Seminary in Fort Worth and Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. All the literature and the interviews conducted are placed on Citation 7 from which the bibliography is generated.[82]

5 LIMITATIONS

The research is limited to the practice of exorcism in the Church of Pentecost (CoP)[83] and from the Akan perspective. However, CoP has grown to become the largest Protestant church in Ghana.[84] Its history is intertwined with many of the classical Pentecostals in Ghana. In addition, most of the neo-Pentecostal/Charismatic leaders came from it. The findings of the research made on CoP will in many cases be applicable to the other churches in Ghana. Similarly, Akan is the largest ethnic group in Ghana and also exists in parts of the Ivory Coast.[85] It is believed that what is found about them is in many cases, of general application to other ethnic groups in Ghana.

6 DEFINITIONS OF SOME KEY WORDS

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[81] Orchard Resources Learning Centre.

[82] Citation 7 is a special computer programme which is designed for the preparation of bibliographies, footnotes and other references. Once the data is put on it and the required standard and choice are selected the computer generates it. Full names of authors have been stated; where full names were not available, initials were used. Furthermore, where it was possible the original publications of books which have two or more editions have been stated. Again, where there was more than one publisher and place of publication, only one of them (one publisher and one place) was used. This was to avoid a lot of names in the footnotes. The first time that a book or an article is used in a chapter, the name (s) of the author (s) and the title of book are spelled out in full, thereafter abbreviations are used.

[83] Throughout the thesis, the abbreviation CoP will be used to represent "The Church of Pentecost."

[84] Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1993), 16-17; Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk with Robyn Johnstone, *Operation World: 21st Century Edition*, 1974, 6th Edition (Carlisle: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001), 274; David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, eds. *World Christian Encyclopedia*, Second Edition, 2 Vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 203-04.

Most of the important words and terms are introduced and defined at the appropriate place within the thesis, but there are a few which need to be defined here. The term "exorcism" has been defined as "the binding of evil powers by the triumph of Christ Jesus, through the application of the power demonstrated by that triumph, in and by his Church."[86] The problem with this definition is that it excludes the possibility of exorcism outside the confines of the Church, which makes it appear that the power of God cannot work outside the Church as against the implicit evidence of the Scriptures.[87] "Exorcism" is used in this thesis to mean a deliberate act of binding or releasing, performed on a person who is believed to be possessed by a spirit of evil intent.[88] "Deliverance," a term which is preferred by neo-Pentecostals, aims at freeing people from the influence or bondage of Satan and his allied evil spirits, who bring about afflictions, sufferings, bad habits, curses and failure in life.[89]

"Classical Pentecostal" is used to refer to Pentecostals who put stress on speaking in tongues and may have either direct or remote relations with the Azusa street

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[85] Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), 21-22; George Parrinder, *West African Traditional Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo, and Kindred Peoples* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), 3.

[86] Dom Robert Petitpierre, ed., *Exorcism: The Findings of a Commission Convened by the Bishop of Exeter* (London: SPCK, 1972), 16.

[87] There are the examples of some few people in the Old Testament who were used by God outside the people of Israel. Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18; cf. Ps. 110:4; Heb. 7); Jethro (Ex. 3); Balaam (Num. 22-23). In the New Testament, there were some disciples of John the Baptist making converts without having heard of Jesus (Acts 18:24-19:7), cf. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 254.

[88] Cf. Michael Perry, ed., *Deliverance: Psychic Disturbances and Occult Involvement*, 1987, Second Edition (London: SPCK, 1996), 2.

[89] Cf. Stephen Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons: Teachings on Deliverance with Numerous Practical Testimonies of Deliverance from Demons* (Kumasi: U. G. C. Publishing House, 1999); Aaron K. Vuha, *The Package: Salvation, Healing and Deliverance: Second Edition* (Accra: The Prayer Warriors International, 1994), v.

movement.[90] "Charismatic" is used in reference to those who identified themselves with the Pentecostal renewal that entered the mainline churches.[91] "Neo-Pentecostal" is viewed as being synonymous with the term "Charismatic."[92] Often the terms "Charismatics" and "Neo-Pentecostals" are used here interchangeably in reference to Pentecostalism that is significantly different from "classical Pentecostal" beliefs and practices.[93] "Spiritual church" is used in reference to what Allan Anderson calls "Pentecostal-type" churches, or what are referred to as "African Initiated Churches." "Mainline churches" refers to the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches, such as the Presbyterian, the Anglican and the Methodist.

The Akan term *abisa* is the infinitive of the verb *bisa*, which means "to ask," "question," "put a question to," "to inquire," "make inquiry about," "to ask one's advice." The German missionary and linguist of the Akan language, Johannes Christaller, translates *abisa* as, "to consult fetish priest or a fortuneteller."[94] The difficulty in translating the term into the English language is found in the translation of

[90] Robert Owens, "The Azusa Street Revival: The Pentecostal Movement Begins in America," in *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001*, Vinson Synan, ed. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 15-38.

[91] Cf. Vinson Synan, "Charismatic Renewal Enters the Mainline Churches," in *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001*, 149-76; Vinson Synan, "The "Charismatics": Renewal in Major Protestant Denominations," in *The Century of the Holy Spirit: 100 Years of Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal, 1901-2001*, 177-208.

[92] Originally the term "neo-Pentecostal" was used by Bittlinger in reference to Christians who "adopt the theology of classical Pentecostals but attend regular interconfessional prayer meetings." Arnold Bittlinger, "Charismatic Renewal-An Opportunity for the Church," in *The Church is Charismatic: The Word Council of Churches and the Charismatic Renewal*, Arnold Bittlinger, ed. (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981), 10; see also Henry I. Lederle, *Treasures Old and New: Interpretation of the "Spirit Baptism" in the Charismatic Renewal Movement* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988), 41.

[93] These include the beliefs and practices of some of the Charismatics within the mainline churches, some of the Pentecostals who came out of the classical Pentecostal movements to start their own churches and some within the classical Pentecostals.

the King James Bible into the Akan languages, such as the Asante Bible. Depending upon the context, five words (soothsaying, divination, sorcery, interpreting omen and prophecy) are sometimes translated as *abisa*.[95] In this thesis, *abisa* is used in diverse ways with reference to the act of consulting a traditional priest, a sorcerer, a prophet, a prophetess or "any powerful person" with the impression to have supernatural solutions or explanations to one's inexplicable problems. Often clients expect such "consultants" to offer them solutions or guidance through the mediums of prophecies, dreams, visions, words of knowledge, words of wisdom or divination. Thus *abisa* can be understood as a divinatory-consultation.

7 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The thesis is divided into a further six chapters. Chapter Two provides the Akan cosmological context, which forms the analytical framework for this research. The chapter begins by setting out some aspects of the social beliefs of Akan people. The Akan spirit world, such as *Onyankopong* (the Supreme Being) and *abosom* (the gods), are discussed. The Akan *bayie* (witchcraft) and the various ways of dealing with it, "exorcisms," are examined. The purpose is to find out what background these give to the Pentecostal type of exorcism. Here, I engage with anthropological, sociological and psychological literature on the subject. After pointing out the strengths and

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[94] Johannes Gottlieb Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 1881, ed. J. Schweizer, Second Edition (Basel: Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, 1933), 24.

[95] For example, soothsaying is translated as *abisa* in 2Kings 21:6, Isaiah 2:6; divination as *abisa* in Leviticus 19:26, Deut. 18:14; sorcery as *abisa* in Numbers 23:23a; 'interpret omen' as *abisa* in Deuteronomy 18:10d. On the other hand, divination is translated as *ɲkɔmhyɛ* (literary prophecy) in Genesis 44:15, Numbers 22:7; Ezekiel 13:23; Micah 3:6; soothsaying as *ɲkɔmhyɛ* in Joshua 13:22. It is noteworthy that whenever prophecy is translated as *abisa*, it is done in the negative way, such a person using it for gain or deceit. Thus the translators had some negative connotations against the act of *abisa*, whereas the traditional Akan people see *abisa* as important in time of distress.

inadequacies of various theories of interpretations of witchcraft belief, some proposals of interpretations are put forward for discussion in further chapters. Where such literature mentioned is silent on some important issues, I draw information from my fieldwork.

Chapter Three presents an historical development of Christianity and exorcism in Ghana. An investigation of the ideological background of missionaries and how these influenced their interpretation of Akan traditional practices is made. The appropriation of Christianity by the Akan is looked at. How "prophetism" including exorcism emerged out of Christianity and later gave birth to the Spiritual churches is highlighted. The ultimate purpose is to find out how the contextualisation of exorcism in the Spiritual churches relates to CoP ministry of exorcism. A brief historical background of CoP is offered, to set down the framework for its exorcistic ministry in the next chapter. Special attention is paid to James McKeown, since he led the church for forty-five years and much of the church's history centres around him. Much of the work here comes from my interaction with the literature on the history of Christianity in Ghana, however, often where these fall short, I insert information from my fieldwork, especially information on CoP.

Chapter Four presents the practice of exorcism within CoP. Investigation is made of the exorcistic ministry of the Apostolic Church from which CoP arose. The emergence of "prophetism" within CoP is examined. The influence of the global charismatic wave is given special attention to show how this led to the formation of a distinct "ministry" in

Ghana. Most of the materials here come from the archival research and the interviews I conducted during fieldwork.

Chapter Five presents a detailed analysis of contemporary "witchdemonology"[96] in CoP. Here the term "witchdemonology" is explained and the practices of major exorcists examined. The contents, such as belief in the reality of the spirit world (witchcraft, demons and gods), belief in ancestral curses and the need of "camping" the sick for effective deliverance, are analysed. The voices that have been raised against "witchdemonology" are also evident in the discussion. An evaluation is made of "witchdemonology." Most of the materials come from my fieldwork.

In Chapter Six, I respond to the implications raised by "witchdemonology" by attempting to contextualise exorcistic ministry. Making use of studies carried out by biblical scholars, an examination of the "demonic" in the Bible is done with a view to identifying "witchdemonology" from a biblical perspective. "Witchdemonology" is then compared to other practices of exorcism among the Church universal. Areas where there are tensions between "witchdemonology" and the Bible are identified. Then, there is a conscious effort to contextualise and offer pastoral reflections for consideration.

Chapter Seven offers summary and conclusions. Here I present a summary of main findings, the implications of these findings and suggestions for further studies.

[96] Basically this means the synthesis of witchcraft and demonology beliefs and practices. I find it appropriate to discuss it in detail at chapter five.

CHAPTER TWO

THE AKAN COSMOLOGICAL CONTEXT

An understanding of the Church of Pentecost's concept of exorcism requires some insights into the religious and cultural beliefs of the Akan. The anthropologist de Waal Malefijt observes that religious symbols, myths, ritual behaviour and sacred images, "are not intrinsically different from other cultural symbols. *They help to maintain culture and its institutions and make it possible to pass on its basic values to new generations*" (italic mine).[1] Thus to have an insight into Akan culture requires investigation into the ethnographical materials of the culture. John Kennedy, an American socio-anthropologist, argues that the social sciences need one another.[2] Wolf Bleek[3] echoes Kennedy when he writes that:

> It is clear that sociology, psychology and other branches of science need each other, if we want to study witchcraft to a deeper level…. Investigators of witchcraft find themselves inevitably concerned with psychological problems. The reason lies in the nature of the phenomenon itself…. Any student describing it finds himself involved with materials which have been the province of psychoanalysis….[4]

[1] Annemarie de Waal Malefijt, *Religion and Culture* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), 8-9.
[2] John S. Kennedy, "Psychology and Sociological Explanation of Witchcraft," *Man* 2 (1967): 217-225.
[3] An anthropologist who researched into witchcraft among the Kwahu ethnic group of the Akan.
[4] Wolf Bleek, *Marriage, Inheritance and Witchcraft: A Case Study of a Rural Ghanaian Family* (Leiden: Africa-Studiecentrum, 1975), 360; Kennedy, "Psychology and Sociological," 223. Other scholars who have researched into various aspects of Akan people reiterate Kennedy's observation about the need to interact with the various disciplines within social sciences. See Vittorio Lanternari, "Dreams and Visions from the Spiritual Churches of Ghana," *Paideuma* 24 (1978): 100; Abraham Akrong, "Researching the Phenomenon of Witchcraft," *Journal of African Christian Thought* 2, no. 2 (December 1999): 45.

Thus, besides interacting with the anthropological materials, the investigation into witchcraft necessarily calls for incursions into other social sciences, including sociological and psychological materials.

This chapter begins by setting out some aspects of the social beliefs of Akan people. Special attention is given to the Akan concept of personality, which forms the basis for the Akan concept of witchcraft. The Akan concept of the spirit world is examined, especially the *abosom* (gods) and their mouthpieces, *akɔmfoɔ*. The Akan *bayie* (witchcraft) is investigated and various ways of dealing with it, "exorcisms," are examined. The purpose is to find out what background these give to the Pentecostal type of exorcism. A survey is made of various interpretations that have been offered of Akan witchcraft belief. The strengths and inadequacies of those theories are pointed out and thereafter a contribution of interpretation is offered. Throughout the chapter where the literature of the social sciences are silent on certain important issues, I draw information from my fieldwork. The findings here form the framework for the rest of the chapters.

1 SOCIAL BELIEFS

1.1 The People and the Land

The Akan peoples of West Africa are one of the well-known ethnic groups in Africa. In Ghana, they occupy the Western, Central, Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, parts of Eastern and Volta regions. They also occupy the southeastern part of the Ivory Coast. In Ghana the southern limit of the Akan territory is the sea-coast, the northern being the upper

course of the Volta River and the eastern limit is the Volta River. The Akan area can be estimated as one-half of the 238,533 sq. km. (92000 sq. miles) of the surface area of Ghana.[5] Their population is widely distributed in Ghana. According to the 1984 census taken in Ghana, 5,490,815 out of a total population of 12, 296,081 lived in Akan areas; that was about 46% of the Ghanaian population.[6] Based on the 1984 Census, the Ghana Statistical Service projected population in the year 2000 would be 20,102, 275.[7] Thus the current population of Akan people may be nine million. The language of the Akan people, Twi, is also spoken by a considerable number of the remainder of Ghanaians as a second language. The Akan people are principally composed of Agona, Ahanta, Akuapem, Akwamu, Asante, Brong, Denkyira, Fanti, Sefwi and Wassa.[8] Of the Akan, the Asante came into special prominence in religion and cultural study through the research of Rattray and also through their world-wide reputation for their military ingenuity from the early 1700s, until their state was annexed by the British in the early 1900's.[9]

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[5] Ghana Statistical Service, *Analysis of Demographic Data: Detailed Analysis Reports*, Vol. 2, K. A. Twum-Baah and T. K. Kumekpor, eds. (Accra: Ghana Statistical Service, 1995), 8.

[6] Ghana Statistical Service, *Analysis of Demographic Data*, 8, 37-54. This is the sum total of the returns for the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern and Western regions as well as Akan –Wawa and Akan-Bonwire areas in Volta Region. It however includes non-Akan living in these regions, but excludes Akan living in non-Akan regions.

[7] Ghana Statistical Service, *Analysis of Demographic Data: Detailed Analysis Reports*, Vol. 1, K. A. Twum-Baah and T. K. Kumekpor, eds. (Accra: Ghana Statistical Service, 1995), 58.

[8] Florence Abena Dolphyne, "The Volta-Comoe Languages," in *The Languages of Ghana*, M. E. Kropp Dakubu, ed. (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988), 53; Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana: Their Ancient Beliefs* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1958), 17-18; Peter Kwasi Sarpong, *Girls' Nubility Rites in Ashanti* (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1977), 1. See map of Ghana.

[9] Main works by Robert Sutherland Rattray, *Ashanti* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923); Robert Sutherland Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927); Robert Sutherland Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929); Robert Sutherland Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 1916, Second Edition (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969).

Though the Akan descended from a common ancestor in the distant past, through a wave of migration into differing ecological theatres, they created various linguistic and religious differentiations.[10] Thus the Akan have never had a common polity. However, there are some factors that link the various Akan communities to a common origin. Williamson, a Methodist missionary in Ghana between 1933 and 1954, identifies six basic elements: they trace descent matrilineally, speak a common language with dialectal differences and reveal a common pattern in their political [and military], economic, social and religious structures.[11] Thus admittedly, there is much that is uniform and gives the Akan an identity. However, the differences, especially in religious practices, are enriching. This thesis deals with the Akan people of Ghana and the focus is on the Asante people.

1.2 Chieftaincy

Forson, a Ghanaian missiologist, rightly observes that "no general account of the Akan people would be adequate without recognizing the significant role played by the *ebusua* (matrilineal clan) and the role of 'sacred chieftaincy'" (italics mine).[12] The political and military structures, which are centralised, are similar in all the Akan states. The chief is the commander-in-chief of *asafo* (warrior companies or divisional chiefs). He administers his territory with the help of these *asafo*. Busia, a Ghanaian sociologist,[13]

[10] Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana*, 7; Dolphyne, "The Volta-Comoe Languages," 51-53. Meyerowitz research indicates that the Akan people emigrated into different areas of the Gold Coast (present Ghana) from Niger Bend in the region lying roughly between Djenne and Timbuktu.
[11] Sidney George Williamson, *Akan Religion and Christian Faith: A Comparative Study of the Impact of the Religion*, Kwasi A. Dickson, ed. (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1974), x.
[12] Mathias Kwasi Forson, "Split-Level Christianity in Africa: A Study of the Persistence of Traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices Among the Akan" (Ph. D. Diss., E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1993), 66.
[13] Busia later became the Prime Minister of Ghana in the Second Republic, 1969-72.

states that "the chief was the axis of the political relations of the different elders and their subjects."[14] This means it was under him as the head that they formed a political unit.

The chief is the final arbiter in all cases. However, in a way, his stool was shared with the *ɔhemaa* (queen mother or female monarch). Rattray observes that "they [queen mothers] are the key stone of the whole structure."[15] According to Busia, the queen mother is the special adviser to the chief and can be destooled for failure to fulfil this role well.[16] Her role as a consultant in major cases has generated a maxim among the Akan so that when a leader and his councillors find it difficult to resolve an issue, *wɔ kɔ bisa aberewa*, they euphemistically retire and "ask the old lady's advice."[17] It is believed that by this act of *abisa* (consultation and reasoning), the panel will find a solution.

In a way, the chief is the religious head of the state, as Busia rightly puts it, "the chief's position is bound up with strong religious sentiments."[18] For instance, in his capacity as the intermediary between the living and dead, the chief enters *nkonwa danmu* (the stool

[14] Kofi Abrefa Busia, *The Position of the Chief in Modern Asante* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), 22. There was no link between one elder and another except their common allegiance to the chief. Communication from one to the other lay with the chief. J. S. Pobee, *Towards an African Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), 44.

[15] Rattray, *Ashanti*, 85. *Ɔhemaa* is a very powerful position among the Akan. Many people believe that without *bayie* (witchcraft) a person cannot occupy that position. It is held that the queen mothers will protect the kings, who are often their sons, with their *bayie*, else the kings will die prematurely.

[16] Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 19. She is to be consulted in major cases and must be consulted on the matrimonial affairs of royal lineage. She is a member of the chief's court and was given her share of the court fines and fees. When the chief's stool becomes vacant, it is the queen mother who nominates a man for the consideration of the elders. B. S. Akuffo, *Ahemfie Adesua: Akan Amammere* (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1976), 8.

[17] This is the practice where the panel retires and asks specialist advice.

house) every twenty-one days on the *Adae* festival to offer sacrifice to the ancestors.[19] Again, as pointed out by Busia and stressed by Safo-Kantanka, "the office of the chief as an *ohene komfo* (priest-chief) to the ancestors, is most evident"[20] in the *Odwira* annual festival.[21] Notwithstanding the chief's extensive powers, he is not indispensable. If he is found to be arbitrary or incompetent to rule, he can be destooled.[22] Often the destoolment of a chief is adduced to the hidden enemy, the witch, who caused him to misbehave. If the chief becomes a Christian, his office as a priest-chief makes him an object of exorcism for the Pentecostal exorcist.

1.3 Economy

The economic lives of the Akan ethnic groups depend on the management of the resources in their environments. Thus the inland people who live in the forest areas like the Asante, Brong and Akyem work on their cash-crop, cocoa, and the crops cultivated for consumption such as yams, plantains, cocoyams, cassava and oranges. McCaskie maintains that " subsistence agriculture was the indispensable basis of historic Asante

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[18] Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 39.

[19] *Adae* refers to "those ceremonies at which the spirits of departed rulers of the clan are propitiated, their names and deeds recalled, and favours and mercy solicited." Rattray, *Ashanti*, 92; Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 27. Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 45. Note Pobee states that *Adae* is held every forty-two days, while Busia records twenty-one days. The difference is that the occasion that sends the chief to the stool house is called "*adae*." There are two *adae*, the first is *Akwasidea* or *Adae Kese* (Sundays or Great Adae) and the other is *Awukudae* (Wednesdays or "little *adae*"). There was forty-two days between each *Akwasidae* and forty-two between each *Awukudae*. Thus the custom was generally held every twenty-one days. See Rattray, *Ashanti*, chapters 5-9 for the description of this festival.

[20] Osei Safo-Kantaka, *Can a Christian Become a Chief: An Examination of Ghanaian Ancestral Practices in the Light of the Bible* (Accra: Pentecost Press Limited, 1993); 16; Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 28.

[21] *Odwira* is referred to as the feast of the dead; it stands for the cleansing of the nation and a purification of the ancestral spirits and the gods. It is also closely connected with first fruit. For further reading, see Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 123-41; Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 29-39; Safo-Kantaka, *Can a Christian*, 17-30.

[22] Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 21-22; Gabriel Bannerman-Richter, *The Practice of Witchcraft in Ghana* (Sacramento: Gabari Publishing Company, 1982), 2.

society."[23] Those who live along the coast, like the Fanti, are predominantly fisher folk. Sarpong highlights some other specialist occupations by the Akan. These include metal work, weaving, woodcarving, hunting, pot-making and recently trading,[24] labouring and various types of clerical work.[25] Generally, there is the desire by the Akan people to acquire wealth,[26] since a wealthy person can contribute towards the welfare of the family and the state. This is demonstrated in several ways, for example, in Akan maxims[27] and the prayer of the elders during the pouring of libation.[28] The elders' prayers include the request for prosperity, health, fertility, peace and protection, or generally what Larbi sums as "*nkwa* (life)."[29]

1.4 The Clan - The Concept of "Humanity" and "Personality"

The Akan believe that a human being is compounded of two principles.[30] The first is *mogya* or *bogya* (blood); the general term is *abusua* or *ntɔn* (clan or family).[31] A

[23] T. C. McCaskie, *State and Society in Pre-Colonial Asante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 26.
[24] Of the Akan, as affirmed by Osei-Agyeman, a Ghanaian anthropologist, the Kwahu are outstanding in trade and commerce. Ophasen Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical Medicine in Kwahu Culture," a Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 1990), 37.
[25] Sarpong, *Girls' Nubility*, 2.
[26] Kwame Safro, "Business Ethic and Capitalism in a Poor Country," in *Readings in African Philosophy: An Akan Collection*, Kwame Safro, ed. (New York: University of America, 1995), 223-33; Kwasi Wiredu, "Our Problem of Knowledge: Brief Reflections on Knowledge and Development in Africa," in *African Philosophy as Cultural Inquiry*, Ivan Karp and D. A. Masolo, eds. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 181-86.
[27] For example, "Money is sharper than the sword" and "one does not cook one's nobility and eat it; it is wealth that counts." Kwame Gyekye, *African Cultural Values: An Introduction* (Accra: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1996), 98.
[28] Elders here mean chiefs, heads of families or clans, and anyone in a responsible position.
[29] B. S. Akuffo, *Ahemfie Adesua: Akan Amammere* (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1976), 25, 52-3; Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 138. Kingsley Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: A Study in the Appropriation of the Christian Gospel in the 20th Century Ghana Setting with Special Reference to the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost Etc." (Ph. D. Diss., Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, 1995), 9, For similar prayer in other part of African, see John S. Mbiti, *The Prayer of African People* (London: SPCK, 1975), 23-49, 61-65, 124-30.
[30] Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 1.

person inherits this from the mother. The blood is closely related to the *ɔkra* (soul). The second is *ntɔrɔ* or *bosom*, which one derives from the father and is associated by the transmission of semen by the father.[32] The *ntɔrɔ* is closely linked with *sunsum* (spirit). It is difficult to translate the term *ntɔrɔ*.[33] Though both Rattray and Busia indicate that *ntɔrɔ* is a "generic term" covering the patrilineal exogamous divisions of the Akan, they translate it as spirit[34] and contend that *sunsum* is held to be derived from the father.[35] But Gyekye, a current Ghanaian philosopher, argues that the *sunsum* is "derived directly from the Supreme Being."[36] Gyekye then, just like Opoku,[37] attempts to differentiate between the two (*ntɔrɔ* and *sunsum*).[38] He, however, believes that the

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[31] There are eight *abusua divisions*. Their names, totem animals (*akyeneboa*) and symbolic meanings are present here: Agona, *akoo* (parrot), eloquence, persuasiveness; Aduana, *ɔkeraman* (dog), skill, adroitness; Asona, *anene* (crow or raven), wisdom; Ekuana, *ekoɔ* (buffalo), conscientiousness; Asine, *apaen* (bat), diplomacy; Beretuo, *ɔsebɔ* (leopard), aggressiveness; Aberade, *ɔsebɔ* (leopard), aggressiveness; *Asenea*, *ɔsebɔ* (leopard), aggressiveness. Note the totem animals of the last three divisions are the same. Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), 30; K. Arhin, *Traditional Rule in Ghana: Past and Present* (Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1985), 29; Rattray, *Ashanti*, 45; Kofi Asare Opoku, "The Destiny of Man in Akan Traditional Religious Thought," in *Traditional Life, Culture & Literature in Ghana*, Max J. Assimeng, ed. (Owerri: Conch Magazine Limited, 1976), 21.

[32] Rattray offers eight divisions and mistakenly presents some of the *abusua* division as *ntɔrɔ*. Opoku, however, presents the full twelve divisions and by that rectifies Rattray's error. Rattray, *Ashanti*, 47-49; Opoku, "The Destiny of Man," 19. The names of the *ntɔrɔ* are Bosommuru, Bosompra, Bosomtwe, Bosom-Dwerebe, Bosomakon, Bosomafi, Bosomafram, Bosom-konsi, Bosomsika, Bosompo, Bosomayesu, and Bosomkrete.

[33] Christaller translates it opaquely as "one of the ancient families, each worshipping a particular spirit." (J. G. Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 1881, J. Schweizer, ed. Second Edition (Basel: Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, 1933), 529). On the one hand, he was right, since the names of the various *ntɔrɔ*,beginning with *bosom* (a god), seemingly signify the kind of *ɔbosom* that the person serves. On the other hand, his difficulty of trying to explain it was exacerbated by uncertainty of authenticity of descent, either of matrilineal or patrilineal. But, as has been shown in this section, that *ntɔrɔ* is patrilineal descent is shown in the fact that both *ntɔrɔ* and *abusua* have each got their own separate divisions. The patrilineal exogamous division, *ntɔrɔ*, is dying gradually from the system.

[34] Rattray, *Ashanti*, 45. Busia, "The Ashanti," 197.

[35] Rattray, *Ashanti*, 45. Busia, "The Ashanti," 197.

[36] Kwame Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), 95.

[37] He is one of the leading scholars of Akan traditional religion.

[38] Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought*, 94, cf. Opoku, "The Destiny of Man," 15, 17.

Akan concept of a person is dualistic.[39] Thus there are nuances in the presentation of the Akan concept of a person. Yet the points which concern this thesis and which are agreed by Akan scholars are that the Akan see themselves in both the matrilineal blood-clan (*abusua*) and the patrilineal spirit-clan (*ntɔrɔ*).

The individual has a defined place in the matrilineal blood-clan, *abusua*, and the patrilineal spirit-clan *ntɔrɔ/sunsum*. Just like the Cewa[40] and Ndembu[41] of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), descent is traced through the mother.[42] This means a person's property belongs to the *abusua* and *abusua* is supposed to take good care of it members. Health, prosperity and success are the norms. If misfortune strikes,[43] *abusua na wɔkɔ abisa*, that is, the family takes the responsibility to find out the causes, with the aim of restoring the *ɔdehyeɛ* (prince/ess) to the family.[44] Yet a person is bound to the father through religion and educational ties. It can, therefore, be said that the Akan has a dual family system. If *abusua*, the matrilineal blood-clan, stresses the importance of the mother, the psychological balance is somewhat restored through a parallel *ntɔrɔ/sunsum*, the patrilineal spirit-clan.

[39] Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought*, 100.
[40] Max G. Marwick, *Sorcery in Its Social Setting: A Study of the Northern Rhodesian Cewa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965), 116.
[41] Victor W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an Africa Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), 82.
[42] A man's potential successors are his brothers in order of age, his mother's sisters' sons, in that order of preference. Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 1.
[43] By this is meant a persistent unexpected incident or behaviour such as illness, poverty, bareness, impotency, drunkenness or theft.
[44] This does not mean that the father or husband is not involved. Often the *abusua* takes over after the father or husband has done his part without success.

The blood, through which the Akan know themselves to be linked with the blood-clan, is also considered the vessel of the *ɔkra* (soul). Danquah argues that the *ɔkra* is a spark of God, "there is never any evil stored up in the soul, for the soul is part of the Source [God]."[45] He explains that before coming to the earth to be born, the *ɔkra* "presents himself to God for *nkrabea*, his purposed decree, thereby acquiring *hyebea* [destiny]."[46] Opoku rightly writes, "one's fate may be detected after consultation [*abisa*] with an oracle and appropriate measures taken to forestall an unhappy fate."[47] Here *ɔkra* is considered as that which brings life and luck to the individual.

Following Christaller and Rattray, Debrunner suggests that the *ɔkra* is considered to be a separate being, yet it is within the same person; it is distinct from the person and can vacate, yet it is within to protect, reveal hidden things, give good or bad advice; it causes a person's undertakings to prosper or fail.[48] However, as pointed out by Sawyerr,[49] Williamson questions the validity of the notion that the *ɔkra* could give bad advice. He, however, acknowledges the feeling of some people that "the promptings of the *ɔkra* are good" and to disobey them "endangers one's peace of mind."[50] The *ɔkra* reacts to sin and grief. If a person, dogged by his/her conscience, appears lifeless, it

[45] Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine of God: A Fragment of Gold Coast Ethics and Religion*, 1944, Kwasi A. Dickson, ed. Second Edition (London: Flank Class, 1968), 85.
[46] Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 114. *Nkrabea* is "the conscious act of leave-taking which a soul performs in the presence of God who seals for the soul a living personality." *Hyebea* is "the giving of the leave, according to the nature of the soul's individuality, not as if invented, but already stored up in God, and of which the soul is dimly aware by feeling, and which he wishes or desires to become or to have realized."
[47] Opoku, "The Destiny of Man," 23.
[48] Hans W. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana: A Study on the Belief in Destructive Witches and Its Effects on the Akan Tribes*, 1959 (Accra: Presbyterian Book Depot Ltd, 1961), 9; Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 69; Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 153.
[49] Henry Sawyerr, *The Practice of Presence: Shorter Writings of Harry Sawyerr*, John Parratt, ed. (Lancaster: Eerdmans Publishing, 1996), 69.

may be said of the person that the soul is sad, or disturbed. The *ɔkra* can be silent and quiet,[51] appearing to be absent; thus Danquah states that the *ɔkra* remains either beneath or above the gates of consciousness.[52]

On these accounts, Meyerowitz compares the *ɔkra* with what Freud calls the "id" and which Jung calls the "unconscious psyche," or "universal mind."[53] Debrunner feels that this definition is too simplistic, since the *ɔkra* is not the whole unconscious psyche, but only one of its projections. He then adopts the term "life-soul" for the *ɔkra*, which seems to centre on the "life" aspect of the *ɔkra*.[54] But Debrunner appears to miss the mark here, since the Akan understanding of *ɔkra* is wider than Debrunner's "life-soul." Meyerowitz's assertion seems to agree with other scholars of Akan culture.[55] For example, Danquah posits that "it [*sunsum*, the spirit] is the bearer of the conscious experience, the unconscious or subliminal self is the okara [*ɔkra*] or soul...."[56] While no two terms may mean exactly the same, they may intend to convey a similar idea. Freud looks upon the mind of an individual as an unknown and unconscious id,[57] upon

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[50] Williamson, *Akan Religion*, 109.
[51] A person may speak to his soul to rise up or to come and help him like David in the Psalms (e.g. Ps. 45: 11; Ps. 62: 5). Cf. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 13.
[52] Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 117.
[53] Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State*, 84; Sigmund G. Freud, *The Ego and the ID*, trans. J. Riviere (London: The Hogarth Press, 1947), 29, 51; Carl Gustav Jung, *The Psychogenesis of Mental Diseases*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), 203.
[54] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 10.
[55] For instance, cf. Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 1; Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought*, 85,88, 102. It must be remarked that Gyekye, however, sees some similarities as well as dissimilarities between the two.
[56] Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 112.
[57] Freud, *The Ego and the ID*, 28. Freud explains that for the German "Es" which means literally "it," the corresponding Latin word "id" has been adopted on the analogy of "ego" which is the accepted rendering of the German "Ich" literally "I."

whose surface rests the ego, developed from its nucleus, the perception-system.[58] Thus, it can be assumed from Freud's assertion that "the unknown and unconscious id" becomes the hidden source of activities of the psychic personality. Jung sees that "the unconscious psyche" contains all those psychic events which do not possess sufficient intensity of functioning to cross the threshold dividing the conscious from the unconscious.[59] Thus, for Jung, "the unconscious" is the comatose self. For the Akan, the *ɔkra* appears to be the unseen psychic personality behind the activities of a person. All these three assertions seem to convey the same intention. Therefore, for the sake of simplicity, the *ɔkra* will be translated as "the soul" in this thesis. Witchcraft is said to operate within the *ɔkra*, and it is also believed that it is this *ɔkra* that the witches attack.[60]

The *ntɔrɔ/sunsum*, which is associated with the father, is the spiritual element in a person upon which life depends.[61] Busia echoes Rattray when he explains that "a person's *sunsum is* his ego, his personality, his distinctive character"; it is that "which moulds the child's personality and disposition."[62] Appiah-Kubi, a Ghanaian theologian, explains that "a person is believed to have the same spirit and temperament as his

[58] Freud, *The Ego and the ID*, 28; Sigmund G. Freud, *The Essentials of Psychoanalysis*, trans. James Strachey (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 3.
[59] Jung, *The Psychogenesis of Mental Diseases*, 203.
[60] Cf. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 10; Margaret J. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People* (London: Oxford university Press, 1937), 135, 141.
[61] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 46.
[62] Kofi Abrefa Busia, "The Ashanti," *African Worlds, Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples* (1954): 197; Rattray, *Ashanti*, 46. See also Kofi Appiah-Kubi, "The Akan Concept of Human Personality," in *Traditional Religion in West Africa*, E. A. Ade Adegbolo, ed. (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1983), 259.

father.[63] Although Gyekye demonstrates that "both *ntɔrɔ* and *mogya* …are genetic factors responsible for inherited characteristic,"[64] he indicates that his own researches confirm that the connection between *sunsum* and personality is correct.[65] For Danquah, the *sunsum* is a form of consciousness or inadequate expression of the full capacities of the *ɔkra*.[66] If a person has a strong personality trait it will be said of him that "*ne sunsum yɛ duru, anasɛ yɛ den*," literally "his spirit is heavy or strong." A person may have a strong spirit but a weak body. It is believed that such persons may often fall sick but get well since nothing can kill them apart from their destiny (natural death). Debrunner appears right to liken *sunsum* to that part of a person's soul which Freud has called the "ego." According to Freud this is the part of personality which has to maintain the identity of the self towards "the conscious" and "the id" (or the unconscious), and which has the task of mastering the interior world through activity and winning authority over the impulses of the unconscious.[67] It can further be said that it is also similar to what Jung calls the "self"; that which is the totality of the psyche, which embraces both the conscious and the unconscious. For Jung, the "ego" is the centre of the consciousness, while the "self" is the centre of the totality.[68] This makes his concept of "self" more similar to that of the Akan, since for the Akan, the *sunsum* is the representative of both the *ɔkra* (unconsciousness) and the *nipadua* (*humanity* or

[63] Appiah-Kubi, "The Akan Concept," 259.
[64] Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought:*, 94.
[65] Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought:*, 90. This is something which, so far so the present writer is aware, no ethnographer of Akan culture has rejected.
[66] Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 117.
[67] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 15; Cf. Freud, *The Ego and the ID*, 29; see also Field, *Religion and Medicine*, 92.
[68] Carl Gustav Jung, *Dreams*, 1974, trans. R. F. C. Hull, ARK Edition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 115.

consciousness).[69] Thus, as mentioned already, Danquah refers to *sunsum* as the bearer of the conscious experience."[70] In other words *the ɔkra* needs the medium of the *sunsum* to manifest itself in the practical world. For this reason, this thesis chooses to call the *sunsum* the "personality-spirit."[71]

It is believed that the *sunsum* of a witch is also able to leave the body at night in sleep and perform supernatural activities.[72] The assumption is that the souls of witches use their spirits in these activities.

2 SPIRIT FORCES

Literature abounds on the "primal" worldview, generally describing it as an authentically religious attitude to human beings' natural setting in the cosmos.[73] Bediako sees Turner's work as "a sure guide into the world's 'primal' religions."[74]

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[69] Jung, *Dreams*, 115.

[70] Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 112.

[71] Both Debrunner and Parrinder translate *sunsum* as personality-soul, following Rattray's translation of *sunsum* as soul. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 15; George Parrinder, *West Africa Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo, and Kindred Peoples* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), 113; Rattray, *Ashanti*, 153. However, the two are quite different. Although among the Akan, the *ɔkra* (soul) and the *sunsum* (spirit) are sometimes used interchangeably, even as they are used in the Bible (e.g. 1 Cor. 5:5, Heb. 10:39, Rev. 6:9), yet they portray two separate entities. Nevertheless the above discussion hints that the Akan scholars agree on associating *sunsum* with personality. See also Appiah-Kubi, "The Akan Concept," 259. Busia, "The Ashanti," 46.

[72] This is based on the fact that the spirit and soul are sometimes used interchangeably. Cf. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 17.

[73] J. B. Taylor ed., *Primal World Views-Christian Involvement in Dialogue with Traditional Thought-Forms* (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1976); John V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision -Christian Presence Amid African Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1963); John Mbiti, *Africa Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1976).

[74] Turner's six -feature framework for understanding the "primal" worldview has recently been succinctly summarised by Bediako as follows. Firstly, a sense of kinship with nature, in which animal and plants no less than human beings had their own spiritual existence and place in the universe as interdependent parts of a whole. Secondly, "a deep sense that man is finite, weak and impure or sinful and stands in need of a power not of his own." Thirdly, the conviction that man is not alone in the universe, for there is a spiritual world of powers or beings more powerful and ultimate than himself." Fourthly, "the belief that man can enter into relationship with the benevolent spirit-world and so share in its powers and blessings

Consequently, further enquiry into Turner's six-feature framework, with its interrelationship, and the fact that the features complement one another, points to the notion that, for the "primal" person, the cosmos is an active universe. The Akan share these ideas with most African communities, but with different emphases and diversities. Those that are considered important for our discussions are presented.

2.1 *Onyankopong* (The Supreme Being)

The Akan spiritual world begins with a hierarchy of the spirit forces, and the intersection of all the spirits derive their ultimate source and power from the Supreme Being, called, *Onyankopong*, or *Onyame*.[75] Danquah suggests that these are two different names.[76] However, it appears that *Onyame* is the abridged form of *Onyankopong*.[77] The abridged form and its variants[78] occur in every day speech,

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and receive protection from evil forces by these transcendent helpers." Fifthly, "the acute sense of reality of the afterlife, a conviction which explains the important place of ancestor or the 'living dead'...." Sixthly, "that man lives in a sacramental universe where there is no sharp dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual." Bediako's personal response is that "the sixth one is the key to understanding the rest." Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh: Orbis Books, 1995), 93-96; Harold W. Turner, "The Primal Religions of the World and Their Study," in *Australian Essays in World Religions*, Victor C. Hayes, ed. (Bedford Park: Australian Association for World Religion, 1977), 27-37.

[75] Max J. Assimeng, *Religion and Social Change in West Africa: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion* (Accra: Ghana University Press, 1989), 52. Often these names are pronounced *Nyame* or *Nyankopong*.

[76] Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 30. Danquah assumes that the Akan designate the Supreme Being by three names *Onyame*, *Onyankopong*, and *Odomakoma*. Based on this, Meyerowitz asserts that "Odumankoma is a creator (*aboadee*) and with Nyame and Nyankopong they form triad." Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State*, 81. However, in his new introduction to Danquah's *Akan Doctrine of God*, Dickson, after disappointed reflections, reveals that Danquah, in later unpublished papers "appears to play down the rather philosophical concept of a divine triad." Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, xxiii. According to McCaskie, Chapman indicates that in 1844 some people were surprised to hear that there was some idea of a personality or a name, called *Ɔdomankoma*, being distinguished from *Onyankopong*. They showed their disapproval for this idea (McCaskie, *State and Society*, 105). It appears that *Ɔdomankoma* is just a title of the Supreme Being (Cf. Emmanuel Y. Lartey, *Pastoral Counseling in Inter-Cultural Perspective* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987), 34. Thus Danquah was right to play down the notion of the so-called divine triad. It might just be an academic exercise.

[77] Such names are not uncommon among the Akan.

proverbs[79] and myths of the Akan people.[80] For the Akan, *Onyame* is the Creator, *Borebore*, the derivation of *obo ade, obo ade* (create things, make things). He is the *Ɔdomakoma* (the only supplier of grace).[81] Thus God is known as the only source of every good thing. On this concept of God by the Akan, Rattray affirms Christaller's observation that "the heathen negroes [sic] are at least to a great extent, rather monotheists, they apply the term for God only to one supreme being."[82] Rattray expresses that his acknowledgement of the real Akan concept of God might have come from his "knowledge of the language and an insight into the minds of Twi or Ashanti people that has possibly never been surpassed."[83]

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[78] For instance such names as *Onyametease* (God is alive) and *Onyamekye* (God's gift), and the use of phrases like *Nyame adom* (God's grace or favour), *Fama Nyame* (leave it with God) and *se Nyame pe a* (if it is God's will).

[79] For example, the Akan say *Onyankopong ne Panyin* (God is the Elder). Note, God is not an elder but the only elder. *Obi nkyere abofra Onyame* (no one directs a child to God). In other words the child's instinct tells him that God exists. Thus here the self-disclosure of God is focused. Cf. Rom. 1:20; Ps. 19:1-6. The *Gye Nyame* (except God) symbol depicting the Omnipresence of God is well known every where in Ghana and elsewhere. Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 22-24; Lartey, *Pastoral Counselling in Inter-Cultural Perspective*, 34; Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 48; Peter Kwasi Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect* (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1974), 9-10.

[80] *Onyame* is the derivation of *onya*, he gets or to get, and *me*, to be, or *mee*, to be full. *Onyankopong* is the derivation of the words *Onyame-ko-pong* (*Onyame; ko*, one, alone or only; *pong*, great or mighty). Parrinder offers an alternative etymology for the name. He suggests that "it is probably a very ancient word, and may originally have been connected with a root "*nyama*" for power, or supernatural force, which is still used by semi-Islamized tribes in Sudan." For Meyerowitz, the word " *Nyame* is believed to have been derived from *nyam*, splendour, or brightness." Nonetheless, taken into consideration the occurrences of the abridged form and its variants among the Akan, the occurrences in everyday's speech, proverbs and myths, Parrinder and Meyerowitz's assertions are weak. Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 26; Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State*, 70.

[81] *Ɔdomakoma*, *Ɔ* means he, she or it; *dom* means kindly give or graciously give; *anko* means alone; *ma* means give. For other expositions of the term see Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 58-77.

[82] Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 356. Rattray writes that "the person most nearly approaching this standard [Akan monotheist concept of God] was.., the late Rev. J. G. Christaller. But he remarks that his "evidence is so lightly brushed aside." Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 18-19.

[83] For the discussion on the question whether a Supreme Being is native to Akan (or West African), see, Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 18-19; Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 13-25; Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 91-106; Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine*, 30-42; Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State*, 69-81; Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 9-13; Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1973), 137-165.

Nonetheless, there is the concept that because of humanity's constant disturbances of *Onyankopong*, he withdrew himself from the world. This belief is depicted in the story that it was the pestle of a woman pounding *fufuo* (mashed plantain and cassava) which drove God upward. It continues that the attempt to reach God by climbing skyward on a heap of mortar failed.[84] If the Polish anthropologist Malinowski's argument that "myth is a concept of reality"[85] finds any place in Akan culture, it begins here; this myth relates to the biblical concept of the fall of humanity and that sin originated from a woman.[86]

McCaskie notices that "the withdrawal of *Onyame* bequeathed a reality in which possibility might always be subverted by ubiquitous and insistent human frailty. We can observe the consequences of this in all manner of belief contexts."[87] Asante resorted to *abisa*, (a kind of divination), which was essentially threatening.[88] *Abisa* deals in pessimistic texts about the future of the inquirer. *Ɛkorɔ* or *kunkuma* (the diviner's pot) contained water, palm wine and *abo*—a variety of objects, each of which indicated a special prognostication of the future. Having the pot stirred by the diviner, the first object to appear symbolised the right message.[89] This sort of divination, *abisa*, underpins the Akan concept of the supernatural world.

[84] See also Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 20-21; Kwesi A. Dickson, *Theology in Africa* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1984), 52; McCaskie, *State and Society*, 105; John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1970), 170-77.
[85] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Early Writings of Bronislaw Malinowski*, 1904-1914, trans. Ludwik Krzyzanowski, Robert J. Thornton and Skalník, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 22.
[86] Gen. 3.
[87] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 103.
[88] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 105.

2.2 *Abosom* -the Lesser Gods

Onyankopong was the final arbiter of justice, yet his withdrawal from the world implies that he is remote and transcendent rather than approachable. Therefore, *Onyame* has delegated his power to the *abosom* (lesser gods, *ɔbosom*, singular). The lesser gods are seen as God's sons or his representatives on earth.[90] This is in line with the Akan culture.[91] The implication is that the *abosom* are the efficient representatives of *Onyankopong*, God. *Onyankopong* may not intervene at all in the affairs of people or, even if he wills to intervene, his actions are always delayed.[92] It is the lesser gods who are in control of the affairs of people on earth. Their powers, it is believed, can be beneficial or dangerous.

2.2.1 Origin

The Akan relate the origin of *abosomsom* (the worship of the gods) to Twumasi, as the maxim goes, *sɛ* Twumasi *ammɔ dam ante a, anka akɔm amma* (if Twumasi had not gone mad and then become normal again, there would not have come spirit possession). This implies that in a specific period in the life of a man called Twumasi, people observed him like a mad man. Then suddenly he became normal and began to give

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[89] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 15-17.
[90] Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 15-17; Dickson, *Theology in Africa*, 55, 56.
[91] The adage goes that *se wope asem aka akyere Onyame a ka kyere mframa* (if one wants to speak to God, one must speak to the wind). The Akan protocol demands that the chief is not addressed directly. He must always be spoken to through the *ɔkyeame* (the spokesman). The chief also addresses his subjects through the *ɔkyeame*, who also repeats the chief's words to those congregated. The wisdom behind this tradition is that the chief as the supreme head of the clan is not expected to make mistakes in public. In case he makes a mistake, the *ɔkyeame* will correct it in the process of relaying the message to the people. Accordingly, Forson states that " the office of *ɔkyeame* is one of those traditional offices that is not hereditary. It is given to people who are most fit and qualified for it by reason of their possession of wit, eloquence, and intelligence, coupled with a commanding presence and good personality." Forson, "Split-Level Christianity in Africa," 76-77.
[92] Cf. Forson, "Split-Level Christianity," 15-17.

prognosis of events (*ofiri asea kyere mmusuo*).[93] Thus the beginning of *abosomsom* is related to *abisa* (divinatory-consultation).

2.2.2 Sources

In his analyses of the Igbo of Nigeria's world-view, Kalu observes that "since a living religion is likely to relate intimately to the basis of livelihood within a community, the relationship between religious expression and ecology is crucial."[94] Similarly the ecological creation of the *abosom* among the Akan produces a broad classificatory subdivision of the sources of the gods. McCaskie offers three groups: (i) *Atanɔ or nsuom*; these are the gods derived from water (the sea or rivers);[95] (ii) *Ewiem*; gods derived from the sky;[96] (iii) *Aboɔm or wiram*;[97] gods derived from the stones or the forest.[98]

The *abosom* are not considered to be in these objects or places, such as the stones, the rivers or the sea, but that as deities they may be consulted or worshipped at such places. However, often it becomes difficult to determine whether the spirits of the objects are being worshipped or whether some external deities that have associated themselves with the objects are being worshipped. That this broad classificatory subdivision of the

[93] Cf. McCaskie, *State and Society*, 113.
[94] U. Ogbu Kalu, *The Embattled God: Christianzation of Igboland, 1841-1991* (Lagos: Minaj Publishers, 1996), 30.
[95] The sea and some different fishes in it become deities of the Fanti who live along the sea coast.
[96] The *abosom* of the mountainous people such as the Kwahu and Akuapem are propitiated on hilltops.
[97] The *abosom* of the forest-dwellers, like the Asante and Brong jump out from the woods, the Tano river and Lake Bosomtwe become deities.
[98] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 109.

sources of the gods is still held by the Akan is obvious during the process of exorcism by the Pentecostals, as often these powers are addressed in their various classes.

2.2.3 Classification

The two main divisions of *abosom* are the *aman-abosom* (tutelar gods) or *abusua-abosom* (family gods) and *abosom-abrafoɔ* (executing gods). The *aman-abosom* are the gods that may take charge of the welfare of the state, clans, villages, families and individual; they are worshipped at these levels. Annual festivals are held in their honour.[99] Mostly these are the indigenous Akan gods such as the *atanɔ* and the *ntoa abosom*.[100] These do not necessarily hunt for witches. Similar to other indigenous religious practices, these gods are very flexible.[101] People may come under the tutelage of one or more gods. It is believed that the more deities people have, the more power they possess.

The second group, *abosom-abrafoɔ* (executing gods) are the gods whose main activities centre on witch-hunting. They are held to inflict punishment on offenders faster than the *aman-abosom*. Most of these gods were imported to Akan areas from the neighbouring countries.[102]

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[99] Williamson, *Akan Religion*, 102.
[100] Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 14. Dennis Michael Warren, "Disease, Medicine, and Religion Among the Techiman-Bono of Ghana: A Study in Culture" (Ph. D. Diss., Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, 1973), 119.
[101] For example, see Thomas D. Blakely, van Walter E. A Bleek, and Dennis L. Thompson, *Religion in Africa: Experience and Expression*, Thomas D. Blakely, van Walter E. A Bleek and Dennis L Thompson, eds. (London: James Currey, 1994), 16; Warren, "Disease, Medicine, and Religion," 119.
[102] See sections 3.5.4 and 3.5.4.2 below.

The central activity of the worship of the gods, *abosomsom*, is *abisa da* (a day for consultation).[103]

2.3 *Asuman* ("Fetish")

2.3.1 *Asuman* and the Gods

Apart from the gods, there is the belief in the power of *asuman* (plural, *suman*, singular, "fetish")[104] or what is commonly referred to as *aduro* (medicine). *Asuman* are numerous classes of objects such as amulets, charms and talismans. *Suman* is thought of as a lower order of spirit beings, which operate through some objects. As presented by Fink[105] and Rattray, the fabrication of *asuman* is in the hands of mediums (*akɔmfoɔ, asumankwafoɔ, adunsifoɔ*), who often claim to have received their instructions from *mmoatia* (dwarfs) or *abosom* (gods).[106] Fink rightly states that "they are personal means of protection, in contrast to the *abosom* (deities)," who usually serve a whole community.[107] The paraphernalia of the gods and their priests mostly include *asuman* and herbs. Thus *asuman* can be understood as "the messengers" of the gods. It is the power of the *asuman* that makes a powerful god. The advantages of the *asuman* to their

[103] See sections 2.5 and 3.5.4 below.
[104] For a detailed description of *asuman* see, Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 9-24. According to Dupuis the term *fetische* "is evidently a corrupt relic of the Portuguese, introduced to the country, probably, by original explorers of that nation, and adopted by Africans to accommodate the understanding of their visitors, such things connected with religion, laws, or superstition, as could not be explained by the ordinary use of a few common-place expressions, and that could not be interpreted by ocular demonstrations." Joseph Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, 1824, W. E. F. Ward, ed. Second Edition (London: Frank Class & Co. Ltd., 1966), 107. Byang Kato also contends that "the term fetish appropriately describes certain outward practices of Traditional Religions, but once again the description does not cover the whole system." Byang H. Kato, "A Critique of Incipient Universalism in Tropical Africa: A Study of Religious Concepts of the Jaba People of West Africa," *The International Journal of Theology and Philosophy in Africa* 55 (1989): 64.
[105] A German anthropologist who made a research into religion, disease and healing among the Brong of the Akan people.
[106] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 22; H. G. Fink, *Religion, Disease and Healing in Ghana: A Case Study of Traditional Dormaa Medicine* (Munich: Trickster Wissenchaft, 1990), 185.

owners is that whereas the *abosom* cannot be carried along in travels, the *asuman* can be worn in the form of necklaces, bangles or around the waist. From this backdrop, Fink wrongly assumes that, as a form of *asuman*, Akan women wear strings of beads around their waists.[108] Waist beads are usually worn by women as a form of ornament and also symbols of romance.[109]

McCaskie observes that "each of these [*asuman*] was dedicated to a series of precise functions...."[110] There is *suman* for everything that a person needs among the Akan societies; these include *suman* for marriage, fighting, protecting against witchcraft, business, playing football, learning and hunting. Currently, it is held that some pastors use *suman* for the demonstration of spiritual power in their churches. This is frequently dramatised in Ghanaian films.[111] Consequently McCaskie, echoing Rattray, correctly states that "Europeans often misleadingly reported *asuman* as being the core of Asante belief, whereas, important as they were, they were actually epiphenomenal to it."[112] Before the Pentecostal exorcists exorcise witches or demonised persons, often the victims are asked to bring their *asuman* to be burnt.

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[107] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 185.
[108] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 187. Rather it is *sebe*, talismans prepared by some Muslims, in a small leather amulet, which are sometimes worn on the waist by men.
[109] The ornamental use of beads is very common with women and some men in Ghana. See Florence Abena Dolphyne, *The Emancipation of Women: An African Perspective* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1991), 81.
[110] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 11.
[111] For example, see Ernest Arthur-Sarpong, "Candidates for Hell: The Satanic Pastor" (Accra: Extra 'O' Films Production, 1996); Bob Smith Jnr., "The Judgement Day, Prince of Doom: *Na Woye Owo*?" (Accra: Bob Smith Jnr. of Routes Africaines Productions, 1997).
[112] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 110. See also Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 10-11. Europeans' concept of the Akan society is clearly pictured on the title of Alfred Burton Ellis' book, *The Land of Fetish*, 1883, Reprinted (Westport: Negro University Press, 1970).

2. 3. 2 Influence of Islam on Asante Culture and Religion

Islam became prominent in Asante in the eighteen century when Asante conquered Banda (North of Asante) and brought their captives to Kumasi, capital of Asante.[113] Asantehene[114] Osei Kwame (1777-1797) attached a special group of Muslims as advisors to the *Nsumankwahene*[115] of Asante.[116] Dupuis reports that Asantehene Osei Bonsu regarded the Islamic God as the same as the White man's God.[117] Thus here Asante considered Islam as a major religion, yet with its emphasis of monotheism Islam made a limited number of converts in Asante.[118] It was what Clarke describes as the syncretistic practices of popular Islam in the 19th century that made a growing impact on the Akan.[119] The protective amulets prepared by some Muslims, usually written Qur'anic quotations, called *sebe* in Asante, became "an essential commodity."[120] Such

[113] Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 246-47.
[114] King of Asante.
[115] *Nsumankwahene* of Asante is the head and supervisor of all the shrine priests and herbalists of Asante.
[116] Wilks, *Asante*, 250-51; Thomas J. Lewin, *Asante Before the British: The Prempean Years* (Kansas: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 38. It is thought that Osei Kwame became a Muslim believer at heart, and this subsequently led to his overthrown. Opoku Fofie who succeeded him died, having reigned for under two years. Scholars on Asante culture show that under Osei Bonsu, who was enstooled as Osei Tutu Kwame Asibe Bonsu (1800/1-1824), some Muslims came to exercise an influence in the cultural and political affairs of Asante. Wilks, *Asante*, 255-60; Ivor Wilks, "The Position of Muslims in Metropolitan Ashanti in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Islam in Tropical Africa: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Fifth International African Seminar, Bello University, Zaria, January 1964*, Ioan M. Lewis, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 326-27; Dupuis, *Journal of Residence*, 97-99; Thomas Edward Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of That Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of Other Parts of the Interior of Africa*, 1819 (London: Griffith & Faran, 1873), 53; Peter B. Clarke, *West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to 20th Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), 176-77; Osei Kwadwo, *An Outline of Asante History* (Wiamoase: O Kwadwo Enterprise, 1994), 19.
[117] Dupuis, *Journal of Residence*, 161-63.
[118] For other reasons why Islam could not completely impact the Asante culture, see Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, 175-78; Wilks, *Asante*, 268.
[119] Clarke, *West Africa and Islam*, 178. Dupuis records that some of the Muslims who were in the service of the Asantehene were drunkards. As he confronted them, they confessed that they "who are true believers are sinners and break his holy law." Dupuis, *Journal of Residence*, 95.
[120] See Warren, "Disease, Medicine, and Religion," 123.

amulets were valued for the protection which they afforded the Asante soldiers.[121] Essentially the *Batakari Kessie* (Royal Regalia) of Asantehene, which is worn during the installation of Asantehene, is full of this amulet.[122] The makers of these amulets, called mallam (elsewhere called marabou) in Ghana are often consulted on supernatural issues (*abisa*) and for protection against evil forces.[123] Thus it is an aspect of *abisa* adopted into Islam that had a major impact on the Asante people.

2.4 Nature's Power

2.4.1 *Asase Yaa* (The Earth)

It is also believed that nature has power and spirits. Lartey affirms that "nature's power may be revered as well as harnessed to the benefit of humanity."[124] Special recognition is given to the earth as an animated female "principle" whose natal day is Thursday, hence it is called *Asase Yaa*. In some places, tilling of the ground is forbidden on Thursdays. The earth's name is mentioned after God, during the pouring of libation.[125] On this account, some writers, including Rattray[126] and Parrinder,[127] speak of the "Earth goddess" or "Earth deity."[128] However this may not be a very accurate rendering of the Akan concept. The earth is not worshipped, it has no priests/priestesses, nor do the

[121] Wilks refers to Kyeremanten, who comments that a war-gown adorned with such amulets, each consisting of several tightly folded layers of paper, a cotton binding, and an envelope of leather or metal undoubtedly did deflect shot. Quoted in Wilks, *Asante*, 257.
[122] Cf. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of That Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of Other Parts of the Interior of Africa*, 271; Wilks, *Asante*, 331.
[123] Cf. Wilks, "The Position of Muslims," 332; Ioan M. Lewis, *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma*, 1986, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 139-54.
[124] Lartey, *Pastoral Counselling in Inter-Cultural Perspective*, 35 see also; Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 46.
[125] Libation is considered as prayer among the Akan.
[126] Rattray writes that "the Ashanti regard the Sky and the Earth as their two great Deities," and speaks of "the cult of the Earth's Deity." Rattray, *Ashanti*, 214.
[127] Parrinder pens, "the earth is the second great deity revered by the Ashanti." Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 38.

Akan consult her for divination. The maxim *asase nyɛ bosom: ɔnkyerɛ mmusuo* (the earth is not a goddess, she does not divine) clearly carries the Akan's notion. From this perspective, it is evident that the Akan criteria for determining a god essentially include the ability to divine. Busia's explanation throws more light on this: "the conception is rather that of a power or principle possessed by the Earth."[129]

2.4.2 *Sasandua* and *Sasammoa* (Vindictive Trees and Animals)

Apart from the earth, it is believed that certain plants, trees (*sasandua*) and animals (*sasammoa*) have spirits. Such non-human spirits are called *sasa* (evil revengeful ghost). When *sasandua* are being felled, they must be pacified with libation or sacrifice, for they are trees with vindictive spirits.[130] Similarly when *sasammoa* are being killed they must be propitiated else their *sasa* (spirits or ghost) could cause harm.[131] The hunter who hunts *sasammoa* needs *asuman* for protection.[132] Fink remarks that "failure to respect the taboos of individual *sasa* of a *sasammoa* [sic] have severe consequences," such as *sasa yadeɛ* (disease).[133] Consequently, when some misfortunes, such as illness or death, occur to people whose professions involve contact with *sasammoa* and *sasandua*, *wɔ kɔ abisa*, that is, consultation is made to find out the causes of the disease. If the diagnosis includes *sasayadeɛ*, the appropriate *mmusuo yie* (sacrifice) will be offered to pacify the *sasa* (vindictive spirit).

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[128] Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 40.
[129] Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 40.
[130] Some of the *sasandua* are used for medical purposes, others are used for carving, such as the making of drums and stools. *Sasandua* include *tweneboa* (Entandophragma), *nyamedua* (Alstonia gongensis) and *odum* (chlorophora excelsa). Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 5, 182.
[131] *Sasa* animals include *ɛkoɔ* (the roan) *ɔtromo* (the bongo) and *ɛsono* (the elephant).
[132] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 2, 183.
[133] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 182. Abnormal behaviour is held to be a symptom of *sasayadea*.

2.4.3 *Sasabonsam* (The Forest Monster)

The belief in *sasabonsam* (forest monster) is also strong among the Akan. *Sasabonsam* is a monster who is thought to live in the forest. The word is derived from *sasa* (evil revengeful ghost) and *bonsam* (wizard). *Sasabonsam* is believed to be extremely hostile to human beings. Hunters who go to the forest and are never heard of again are thought to have been caught by *sasabonsam*. The notion that there is only one *sasabonsam* is distinct from the belief concerning other spirit forces that are thought to be many. One notable thing about *sasabonsam* is that it is not a deity that is worshipped.[134]

Rattray writes, "I cannot help thinking that the original *sasabonsam* may possibly have been the gorilla."[135] Examining the reports of four of my informants who claimed to have seen *sasabonsam*, Rattray's assertion may be closer to the truth.[136] The two sets of groups (four persons), in different encounters, reported that the *sasabonsam* they saw did not run away, neither did it disappear from their sights when they saw it. This is remarkably different from the accounts of people who claim to have encountered other spirit-forces like *mmoatia* (dwarfs); such spirit-forces are said to disappear suddenly from people's sight. The *sasabonsam* appears to be a physical animal. However, for

[134] However, it may be pointed out that, according to Rattray, one Adawuah told him that he could be possessed of *sasabonsam*. Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 29-31. This may be an outstanding issue, since so far this may be the only available record showing the possession by *sasabonsam*.
[135] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 28.
[136] Mrs Faustina Wiafe and Afua Aburah, CoP, Interview by Author, Italy, May 28, 1999; Elder Kwasi Mireku and Elder Awuku, CoP, Interview by Author, Koforidua, September 10, 1999.

the Akan, as pointed out by Fink, *sasabonsam* "falls into the category of invisible spiritual forces."[137]

2.4.4 *Mmoatia* (Dwarfs or Fairies)

Mmoatia are supposed to be the other spiritual forces in the forest. Rattray observes that "if there is one kind of supernatural manifestation of which the average Ashanti is more firmly convinced than another, it is his belief in the existence of the *mmoatia*, the little folk, the fairies. He believes in them because he has seen them."[138] During my field work I interviewed several people, including pastors and church leaders, who claim that they have come into contact with *mmoatia*.[139] The Ghanaian scholar, Bannerman-Richter, a professor of English and Ethnic studies, claims that he has seen *mmoatia*.[140] He observes that "*mmoetia* [Fanti] are among the most malevolent spirits among the Ghanaian supernatural world; they are unrelentingly antihuman and are eager to hurt people."[141]

Mmoatia are considered ethereal in nature. They possess human beings to express their wishes. Thus most of the *abosom* (gods) that are worshipped are *mmoatia*. Here Rattray slightly fails to hit the target, when he states that "little figures of *mmoatia* of

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[137] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 184.
[138] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 25.
[139] For example, Rev. R.V. Dadzi, Church of God, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Kumasi, September 2, 1999; Agya Poku, Interview by Author, CoP, Tape Recording, Kumasi, August 4, 1997; Dorcas Gyau-Agyemang, Interview by Author, CoP, Tape Recording, Batama - Kumasi, August 4, 1999.
[140] Gabriel Bannerman-Richter, *Mmoetia: The Mysterious Little People* (Sacramento: Gabari Publishing Company, 1987), 85-93.
[141] Bannerman-Richter, *Practice of Witchcraft*, 61. Here he was referring to white *mmoatia*. He indeed follows Rattray, who shows that *mmoatia* was classified into three kinds: the black dwarfs (less innocuous to Africans), the red dwarfs (they steal and cause mischief) and the white, who are considered to be insidiously evil. Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 26, 30, see also Bannerman-Richter, *Mmoetia*, 92.

both sexes are often found as appurtenances of the *abosom*, the gods, whose 'speedy messengers' they are."[142] The evidence indicates that *mmoatia* are not messengers of the gods, but rather the gods themselves who are consulted for divination (*abisa*) and worshipped.[143] Fink may have recognised this, when she refers to *mmoatia,* "as passing their herbal knowledge on to priests and herbalists."[144]

The gods and the other spirit forces operate through human intermediaries, these human representatives become the next focus of the thesis.

2.5 *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* (The Priest), Spirit Possession and Worship

The *ɔkɔmfoɔ* is the centre of attraction of *abosomsom* (the worship of the gods).[145] Sarpong affirms that "the priesthood is a vital element in the worship of the gods."[146] The *ɔkɔmfoɔ* is derived from the word *kɔm*, "to prophesy," "to predict," "to dance." The *ɔkɔmfoɔ* is the person, either male or female, who is possessed by *ɔbosom* (the god).[147] Spirit possession is a phenomenon which is observed in nearly all cultures

[142] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 26.
[143] Cf. Bannerman-Richter, *Mmoetia*, 93.
[144] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 184.
[145] For further reading on *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* and spirit possession, see Sam K. Akesson, "The Secret of *Akom* 1," *African Affairs* 49, no. 196 (July 1950): 237-46; Sam K. Akesson, "The Secret of *Akom* 11," *African Affairs* 49, no. 197 (October 1950): 325-33; Margaret J. Field, "Spirit Possession in Ghana," in *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa*, John Beattie and John Middleton, eds. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 3-13.
[146] Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 17.
[147] Although Rattray translates the term *ɔkɔmfoɔ* as "priest" or "priestess," Field and McCaskie think it is not a very good rendering. Field prefers the word "medium." She feels the term *ɔbomsofoɔ* should be translated priest. Parrinder follows such translation. But *ɔbomsofoɔ* is the person who takes charge of the deity when *ɔkɔmfoɔ* dies and the spirit has not taken possession of another person. Thus *ɔbomsofoɔ* is appointed out of necessity. McCaskie fails to offer an alternative. From this background, *ɔkɔmfoɔ* is translated in the thesis as a "priest" following Rattray, although in a limited sense, it may be the closest alternative. See Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 32; Margaret J. Field, *Akim-Kotoku: An 'Oman' of the Gold*

under different names.[148] For example, in Arctic Asia and South America the phenomenon is referred to as shamanism, while in Haiti and Benin it is termed voodoo.[149] According to Fink, "in Western definitions, possession can be explained as hysteria, psychosis or religious emotion."[150] Looking at it from a psychological point of view, Field writes that to be in a "'possessed' state is in the condition known in psychiatry as 'dissociated personality.'"[151] Thus from a Western perspective, spirit possession of *ɔkɔmfoɔ* may be classified as altered personality. *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* requires an effigy as a home for the *bosom* (deity), until it wishes to possess him/her. *Ɔbosom* may sometimes possess the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* forcibly, to warn the community of impending danger and then prescribe the appropriate remedy to stop it.[152] But most often possession is done by invitation. Many of the *abosom* have *abisa da* (a day of consultation), a day where people from far and near travel to the shrine for consultation.[153] During this day an invitation is extended to the deity to possess the *ɔkɔmfoɔ*. The invitation takes the form of the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* dancing to certain drum rhythms; possession takes place during the dance.

Coast (London: Crown Agents, 1948), 172; McCaskie, *State and Society*, 290; Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 75.

[148] Stevan L. Davies, *Jesus The Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1995), 28; Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 202; Margaret J. Field, *Search for Security: An Ethno-Psychiatric Study of Rural Ghana* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), 55.

[149] Ioan M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*, 1971, Second Edition (London: Routledge, 1989), 59-62; George MacDonald Mulrain, *Theology in Folk Culture: The Theological Significance of Haitian Folk Religion* (New York: Verlag Peter Lang, 1984), 62-110.

[150] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 202.

[151] Field, *Search for Security*, 55.

[152] Cf. Bannerman-Richter, *Practice of Witchcraft*, 46.

[153] It appears that the powerful *bosom* begins with a day of consultation, but when the powerful *kɔmfoɔ* dies, and another inherits him who is not as powerful as the first, then, the day for consultation disappears naturally, since those who visit do not see "miracles" as they may expect. The normal practice among the Akan is to chase the current powerful *kɔmfoɔ* for divination.

The *ɔbosom* takes possession of the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* personality and mind, thus making him/her its medium and spokesperson. The medium can represent one or several personalities. Each time a new deity emerges during performance (dancing), the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* expresses with gestures the unique characteristics of the respective deities.[154] The *ɔkɔmfoɔ* receives messages from the deity. These messages are often constructed in allusive expressions, which are unintelligible to clients, therefore, the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* relay them to the interpreter who deciphers them to the clients. By this act, the deity is mystified and clients are inclined to believe in the supernatural ability of the *ɔbosom*.

The *ɔkɔmfoɔ* gives information with respect to the cause, the type and the treatment of a disease or causes of mishaps, such as barrenness, an accident, a sudden death or origin of conflicts in a marriage. The *ɔkɔmfoɔ* also may give signals of approaching misfortune, and how to avoid these.[155] Clients whose cases are serious may be admitted at the shrines for several days to see if solutions can be found before permission is granted for them to go home. In many cases *wɔ de wɔnti kɔhye bosom no ase* (literally, they put their heads under the protection of the gods). This process of coming under the protection of or coveting with a god is called *nom abosom* (drinking the god).[156] The

[154] Cf. Bannerman-Richter, *Practice of Witchcraft*, 46; Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 202.

[155] The divinatory aspect of the function of *ɔkɔmfoɔ* is similar to the work "diviners" described by some anthropologists in other parts of Africa. For example, see the conclusion of Victor W. Turner, *Revelation and Divination in Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 241-242; and also John Beattie, "Divination in Bunyoro, Uganda," in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing*, John Middleton, ed. (New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1967), 211-31; George K. Park, "Divination and Its Social Contexts," in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing*, 234-54; J. Abbink, "Reading the Entrails: Analysis of an African Divination Discourse," *Man* 28, no. 4 (1993): 705-26.

[156] In the past, this ritualistic ceremony was also performed as an oath of allegiance to a king before soldiers went to a war. In both cases the priest was the officiating minister. See Dupuis for a description of such ceremony in 1822. Dupuis, *Journal of Residence*, 213.

client is expected to respond by visiting and paying homage at least once every year. This act of covenant making can be done at the levels of a clan, village, family or individual. Clients may also request *akɔmfoɔ* to invoke the vengeance and wrath of the *abosom* upon people who have offended them.

Assessing the operations of *akɔmfoɔ*, Fink expresses that "it is hard to decide whether this involves psychical powers or an increased perceptivity of the medium, or independent spiritual forces, telepathy or a combination of these."[157] By this, Fink can be considered to admit that there is some truth in the prognostications of the *akɔmfoɔ*. Of course, the prognostication of the *akɔmfoɔ* may go some way towards dissolving bewildered uncertainties of the people.[158]

Other mediums beside *ɔkɔmfoɔ* include *ɔbosomfoɔ, ɔdunsini, sumankwani* and *ɔdotofoɔ*. *Ɔbosomfoɔ* is the caretaker of the god.[159] *Ɔdunsini* is a person of knowledge in medicine or a worker in roots. *Sumankwani* is a dealer of *suman* ("fetish"). The two terms *ɔdunsini* and *sumankwani* are used synonymously; they can be called

[157] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 205.
[158] Most anthropologists observe that people's concerns are not centred on whether or not diviners are right but the fact that they (diviners) are able to give expressions to people's anxieties, doubts and suspicions. For example, see Beattie, "Divination in Bunyoro, Uganda," 230; Fortes Meyer, "Divination: Religious Premises and Logical Techniques," in *Religion, Morality and the Person: Essays on Tellensi Religion*, Jack Goody, ed. (Trowbridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1987), 1-21.
[159] It is claimed that when the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* dies it is the responsibility of the *ɔbosom* (deity) to appoint the successor through spirit possession. During the period of waiting, a person within the deceased's family is appointed as a caretaker. This care-taking person is called *ɔbosomfoɔ*. His/her duties do not come to an end when the deity takes possession of a new *ɔkɔmfoɔ*. However, his/her roles are limited to introducing clients to the *abosom*, and the performing of rituals that the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* or the *ɔbosom* may direct.

herbalists.[160] *ɔdutofoɔ* may imply the "sorcerer."[161] Whereas *ɔdunsini* and *sumankwani* may not be directly associated with a spirit or a deity but have the knowledge of herbs for curative purposes, *ɔdutofoɔ* must be able to cast spells, neutralise spells, and protect against spells, in addition to the knowledge of the uses of different herbs for curative and harmful purpose.[162] Consequently, *ɔdutofoɔ* is feared more than the rest. Yet unlike the rest of the terms, *ɔdutofoɔ* does not feature in the writings of the early anthropologists and religious scholars, such as Rattray and Parrinder. My informant, *Nsumankwahene* of Asante,[163] stressed that formerly the *akɔmfoɔ* were the only recognised mediums of the Akan. Before any *sumankwani* or *ɔkɔmfoɔ* was accepted to practice in Asante, the *Nsumankwahene* would have to examine him/her and recommend them to the Asante king.[164] It would seem that the practice of sorcery (*aduto*) in addition to the profession of *akɔmfoɔ* was introduced to Akan when the deities of the neighbouring people (groups) became popular among them.[165]

[160] When people who claim to have been taken by *mmoatia* (dwarfs or fairies) return home, they either become priests of the gods or "herbalists" and begin to prescribe medicine to the sick. These people are in traditional terms medical practitioners. They understand the use of different herbs for curative purposes. Rattray observes that they are "botanists, knowing every tree and plant and fern by name, and the spiritual properties of each." Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 39.
[161] Sometimes anthropologists define sorcery and witchcraft synonymously, the Akan differentiate between witchcraft and other "supernatural powers," although they are not thought to be mutually exclusive. See sections 3.1 and 3.2 below.
[162] Bannerman-Richter, *Practice of Witchcraft*, 9.
[163] As explained elsewhere, the *Nsumankwahene* of an Akan people group is the head and supervisor of all the shrine priests.
[164] Nana Bafour Domfeh Gyeabour 111, *Nsumankwahene* of Asantehene, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Kumasi, August 3, 1999.
[165] Cf. Field, *Akim-Kotoku*, 171-197. Here Field discusses the decline of the *aman-abosom* or what she calls "traditional cults" and the emergence of new ones. See also section 3.5.4.2 below.

The *abosomfoɔ* and *adunsifoɔ* appear to have a slightly different signification. While the *akɔmfoɔ* not only tend the bodily and spiritual welfare of their particular deities, but also dance, and prophesy or interpret their utterances, the *abosomfoɔ* or *adunsifoɔ* would seem to confine themselves more to tending the gods or prescribing herbs than to dance or prophesy. Rattray rightly sums up the work of *ɔkɔmfoɔ*, "the novitiate and the training undergone by an Ashanti Priest ... is a long, trying, and a very serious business, and even when a man is fully qualified the profession of priesthood is no sinecure."[166]

2.6 *Nananom Asamanfoɔ*[167] (The Ancestors)

Another significant issue in the Akan spirit-world is the role of *nananom asamanfo* (the ancestors). Belief in the ancestors and their veneration is prominent in African and many indigenous religions.[168] But the worship of the *abosom* in West Africa, especially among the Akan, makes the concept differ slightly from the other parts of Africa and elsewhere.[169]

Yet there are many similarities. Akan scholars' descriptions of the ancestors fit into that of other parts of Africa. For example, ancestors are described "as that part of the clan who have completed their course here on earth and gone ahead to the other world

[166] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 40.
[167] Literally, this means the spirits or ghosts of the departed elders.
[168] For example, Idowu, *African Traditional Religion*, 178-88; L Magesa, *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life* (Maryknoll: Obis Books, 1997), 46-57; M. L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches. Vol. 1* (The Hague: Mouton: The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 100; Allan Anderson, "African Pentecostalism and the Ancestor Cult: Confrontation or Compromise?" *Missionalia* 21, no. 1 (April 1993):26-39.
[169] It appears that many features in the Akan *abosomsom* (worship of the gods), such as reliance on the gods and spirit possession, are prominent in the cult of the ancestors in other parts of Africa, especially,

to be elder brothers of the living at the house of God."[170] All the dead are not raised to the status of ancestors. To become an ancestor, one must have lived to a ripe old age, lived in an exemplary manner, and done much to enhance the standing and prestige of the family, clan, or "tribe."[171]

The ancestors are considered the guardians of the traditions and customs and ever present with the people in their daily activities, and as such are directly concerned in all the affairs of the family. Busia tells us that "to the Ashanti the spirit world is very close. He has the ancestor constantly in mind. The old Ashanti offers the first morsel to the ancestors."[172] The main ritual that establishes contact between the living and the ancestors is the pouring of libation. Libation is poured during all festivals, rites of passage and all important ceremonies. During the pouring out of the wine, names of ancestors are mentioned with requests to them for blessings from *Onyankopong* (God). Sarpong shows why the Akan do this: "they [ancestors] are in close contact with the Supreme Being whose favour they enjoy in a special way."[173] Thus they act as relatives who mediate between human beings and *Onyankopong*.

Sarpong, who argues that the ancestors are not worshipped but venerated,[174] maintains that "ancestor veneration is not so elaborate in Ghana or so complicated, but this is not

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southern, central and eastern. Magesa, *African Religion*, 46-57; Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona*, 100.

[170] Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 46; cf. Anderson, "African Pentecostalism," 27.

[171] Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 46; Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 34. Cf. Anderson, "African Pentecostalism," 27.

[172] Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 24.

[173] Peter Kwasi Sarpong, *Libation* (Accra: Anansesem Publication, 1996), 4.

[174] Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 33.

to say that it is simple."[175] Nonetheless, Sawyerr, in an attempt to show that ancestors are worshipped in Africa, draws the attention to the important role given to the ancestors by the Akan by pointing out Rattray's observation, "the predominant influence in the Ashanti religion is neither 'Saturday Sky God' nor 'Thursday Earth-goddess' nor even the hundreds of gods (*abosom*), with which it is true the land is filled, but are the *samanfo*, the spirits of the departed forbears of the clan."[176]

Thus what Sarpong, an Akan, sees as not elaborate becomes a vital point to Sawyerr, an outsider. Another explanation will be helpful in making these two claims intelligible as they stand. Most of the traditions set down by the ancestors were done at the instructions of the *abosom* or *ɔkɔmfoɔ*. For instance, most of the Asante laws were said to be set down by the Great *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* Anokye.[177] Rattray and McCaskie signal that it is highly improbable that Anokye was the originator of any of those rules, and that "what he did was to establish, by edict, long-existing customs which were possibly already beginning to disappear."[178] Yet the attachment of the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* name to these laws makes them binding. Meyerowitz's research reveals that most of the Akan festivals originated from the *abosom* (the gods). Again it shows that the origins of the clan and

[175] Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 34.
[176] Sawyerr, *The Practice of Presence*, 53; Rattray, *Ashanti*, 216. Here Rattray was making a point that for the Asante, the ancestors are the real land owners.
[177] He is referred to as "the author of the Seventy Seven Laws" of Asante (T. C. McCaskie, "Komfo Anokye of Asante: Meaning, History and Philosophy in an African Society," *Journal of African History* 27 (1986): 321). After an elaborate narrative, Rattray assesses that "the foregoing account does not particularly enlarge upon the work of Komfo Anokye as a law-maker. The student of Ashanti law and custom, however, continually receives in answer to the question, 'Why is such and such a rule observed?' the reply, 'We do not know, Komfo Anotche made this a law.'" Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 279-80.
[178] Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 280; McCaskie, "Komfo Anokye," 321.

totem systems are associated with the *abosom*.[179] These imply that paying an allegiance to *nananom asamanfo* (ancestors) is to pay allegiance to what their *abosom* told them to observe. Thus there is a link between the worship of the gods and that of the ancestors. Apparently, as the French sociologist Durkheim often contends, here, religion is a powerful social reinforcement.[180] Though our interest is not on the question as to whether the ancestors are worshipped, venerated or elevated,[181] in this background, it would not be wrong to assert that the gods of the ancestors are always worshipped through the devotions to the ancestors. It is from this backdrop that some Pentecostals reject the practices of the ancestors, and "impose" deliverance upon all that have been involved in such practices.

2.7 Satan and the Concept of Evil

The missionaries' translation of the Western Devil in Akan is *ɔbonsam*. *ɔbonsam* may be the derivation of *bone* (evil) and *sam* (thrown about in disorderly way). The term refers to a person who is an embodiment of scattered evil. In Akan, *ɔbonsam* designates a wizard or a male witch.[182] All evil doers are sometimes referred to as

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[179] Meyerowitz records that before *ɔbosom* was worshipped, the deity behind the *ɔbosom* might reveal himself, in animal form, to a person in times of hardship. The head of the clan would then declare the animal which helped them as their *akyeneboa* (the animal that helped them to survive or the animal that masks a god or totem). The clan would then identify themselves to the totem animal as *akyeneboa*. If the *akyeneboa* (totem animal) "had been a leopard then the people become as aggressive... as the leopard"; "if a falcon, then the people practice patience and endurance" as the falcon. The animal becomes a taboo of the clan. The *akyeneboa* was never killed or eaten, except once a year at the annual festival. Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana*, 25; cf. Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 136.

[180] Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 1915, trans. Joseph Ward Swain, Introduction by Robert Nisbet, Second Edition (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976), 47, 295, 419-20.

[181] To bring a balance as to whether the ancestors are worshipped or venerated some scholars, like Dr. Hesselgrave, have introduced the term "Ancestral Devotion." See David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), 153; Sawyerr, *The Practice of Presence*, 153.

[182] Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 38.

abonsamfoɔ (plural). But that the term may not be a very good translation for Satan is reflected in Meyer's work. Although she acknowledges the fact that the Ewe of Ghana's equivalent term *abonsam* is derived from the Akan term, she comments that "why the missionaries chose this term as a translation for 'Devil' is apparently not documented."[183]

The Akan do not attribute the cause of evil to one personified being, Satan or Devil.[184] Evil occurs when there is *mmusuo*. *Mmusuo* is anything (taboo or sin) which is done contrary to the law of the land, God, the gods, ancestors, community or one's neighbour.[185] Sarpong argues that it is difficult to distinguish between crimes and civil offences among the Akan. Rather, the Akan distinguish between sins which are matters for private investigation[186] and those which are of public concern in society and to the gods.[187] This means sin is considered very serious in Akan culture, since its effect can affect either individuals or society as a whole.

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[183] Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 77. Since no other word is suggested so far, the word "*ɔbonsam*" will be used in the thesis to refer to the Christian Devil.

[184] Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 101; Forson, "Split-Level Christianity," 78-79, cf. Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 50.

[185] Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 323. Christaller translates *mmusuo* as "mischief, misfortune, disaster, misery, calamity, adversity."

[186] The category of sins which is considered as a matter for private investigation is what Sarpong calls "civil transgressions." Arbitration between two persons or two families may be considered private. This includes disputes over properties, thefts, slanders, tale bearings, certain kinds of assault, pawning, loans, debts and certain sexual misdemeanours. Breaking some taboos are also regarded as private or 'family' matters. Example of these taboos is singing while bathing. This is considered a taboo, which can cause the death of one's spouse; to the unmarried one may loose a parent. Singing while eating is also an example of these taboos. This is interpreted as wishing and effecting the death of one's mother. The consequences of these are thought to affect mainly those who break them and their relatives. Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 53.

[187] Transgressions which are of public concern are classified into three categories. The first group is classified as taboo. This includes: murder, sexual intercourse with a woman in her period, adultery with the chief's wife, sexual intercourse in the open even with one's own wife, words of abuse against the chief, treason, cowardice in war, stealing from among the properties of *ɔbosom* and the practise of witchcraft. The second group is natural happenings. It also falls within the categories of taboos. These

When any of the sins which are of public concern are committed there is the need for *mmusuo yie*. This is the performance of rituals to propitiate the gods or the ancestors and ask for forgiveness of sins for the offender. Failure to perform *mmusuo yie* is believed to affect in some cases the clan, in others the family, or an individual.

Here lies the major distinction between the Akan and the Western views. The West is concerned with the origin of evil and associates it with the "Christian Devil."[188] For the Akan the origin of evil does not arise. Williamson rightly states that "there are evil forces sufficient to account for the wickedness and the tragedies of life."[189] And Pobee puts across, "so with no apology one can speak of sin as captivity by the forces of evil *Sasabonsem* or *ayen* (witchcraft),"[190] however, "the principal evil is attributed to witches."[191]

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may be incidental deaths, suicides, death of pregnant women or being born abnormal such as born with six fingers. The third group is termed as religious. This includes: killing or eating a totem animal of one's clan, eating certain food forbidden by a tutelar god, eating a forbidden food as a twin, cutting vindictive trees or killing vindictive animals without propitiation. The effect of any of these is believed to affect the whole clan. People who commit such offences may receive capital punishment. See Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 53; Williamson, *Akan Religion*, 106.

[188] For example, see Norman Geisler, *The Roots of Evil* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978); Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1994), 492-93.

[189] Williamson, *Akan Religion*, 105.

[190] Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 118.

[191] Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 100.

3 *BAYIE* (WITCHCRAFT)

3.1 What is Meant by *Bayie*

McCaskie rightly observes that "fear of witchcraft obviously has deep roots in the socio-historical psyche of the Asante…."[192] This is clearly demonstrated in the life of Akan-speaking slaves, who transported *bayie* to Jamaica. The term became corrupted into *obeah, obiah* or *obi*.[193] Debrunner applies the definition of witchcraft of the Nupe of Nigeria to the Akan concept of *bayie*. He writes, "the specific concept of witchcraft is the idea of some supernatural power of which man can also be possessed, and which is used exclusively for evil and antisocial purposes."[194] Both the Nupe concept and that of the Akan are similar in the sense that they claim people are supposed to be possessed by supernatural powers. However, the evidence points to a difference. The Nupe believe that witchcraft is used exclusively for evil and antisocial purposes, the Akan think that *bayie* is often used for evil, but it can also be used for good purposes.[195] This belief is mirrored in all aspects of society, including music, films[196] and day to day activities of the Akan. For instance, the term *bayie* is used to describe a genius who performs an extraordinary feat in any field or profession; Opoku-Afriyie, a Ghanaian footballer, won the nickname *bayie* for his special ability in scoring goals. The Akan often explain the advanced societies' ability to invent, in life, as the good use of *bayie*.

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[192] T. C. McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult in Asante: An Essay in the Social History of an African People," *History of Africa* 8 (1981): 137, 125-54.
[193] Ivor Morrish, *Obeah, Christ and Rastaman: Jamaica and Its Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 22-23; Joseph J. Williams, *Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica*, 1934 (New York: The Dial Press, 1979 reprinted), see chapter 2 which discusses Jamaican witchcraft.
[194] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 1.
[195] Cf. Appiah-Kubi, "The Akan Concept," 262.
[196] Samuel Nyamekye, "Expectation 1&2" (Accra: A D Joy Mediacraft Production, n. d.); Arthur-Sarpong, "Candidates for Hell: The Satanic Pastor."; Smith Jnr., "The Judgment Day, Prince of Doom: Na Wɔyɛ Ɔwɔ?" Augustine Abbey, "Bitter Love: Love, Jealousy, Unfaithfulness, Pain, Murder.." (Ghana: Great Idikoko Ventures, 1997).

From this background, Crentsil, an Akan musician, sings that *"sɛ wowɔ ayen fa yɛ adepapa…Kwasi Broni de ne deɛ ayɛ awiem ɛhyɛn…ne train* (if you have witchcraft use it for something good, the white man has used his to invent aeroplane and train).[197] Thus while the Akan see *bayie* as something evil, they also see it as something that can be used for a good purpose.

This paradox is pictured in the etymology of the word *bayie*. Christaller presents the derivation of *bayie* as from "ɔba (child) and *yi* (to take away?)."[198] Thus here *bayie* conveys the idea of the person who takes away a child or kills a child.[199] Ɔsɔfo Kɔmfoɔ Damuah,[200] derives *bayie* from ɔbae (came) and *yie* (well or good).[201] Here *bayie* is portrayed as an inherent potency internalised in some fortunate human beings as part of their personality. Therefore Debrunner's definition for *bayie* may not be conducive for the Akan. It can be deduced from the discussion so far that *bayie* in the Akan concept is the belief that some people may possess supernatural powers, which may be used for either good or evil. The person who is possessed by *bayie* is called ɔbayifoɔ (*abayifoɔ*, plural) or *ayen* (Fanti). The male witch is sometimes called *benbonsam* (literally, the

[197] A. B. Crentsil, Composer, "Devil," in *You Devil Go Away from Me* (Ghana: Arthur, A. B. J., n.d.); See also Paa Bobo, Composer, "*Enye Mania*," in *Greatest Remix of Dr Paa Bobo* (Accra: Asamani, Joe R. G., n.d.); Yaw Ofori, Composer, "*Beyie Nnim Omeni*," in *Sika Ye Aberantee* (Accra: Ghunney, Emmanual, 1993).
[198] Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 11.
[199] Fink doubts what influenced Christaller to come out with such derivation. Fink, *Religion, Disease and Healing in Ghana*, 192.
[200] Rev. Dr. Father Damuah resigned from the Catholic Church to establish the Afrikania Mission. According to him, Afrikania takes the best of the old Africa (termed as 'born again') and blends with the best of the new Africa to form a synthesis for the mutual benefits of mankind. Damuah died in 1992. Ɔsɔfo Kɔmfoɔ Kwabena Damuah, *Afrikania Handbook* (Accra: Afrikania Mission, 1983), 34. For background reading of Damuah's life and ministry, see Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*, 17-38.

man who is evil).[202] In this thesis, in relation to the Akan, the term witchcraft will be used for that which the Akan call *bayie*. It will be used to denote both the female (witch) and male (wizard) who practises the craft in accordance with the belief of the Akan. Whenever reference is made to other parts of the world, the term "witch" will include the ambivalent usage of the term.[203]

3.2 Witchcraft and other Supernatural Powers/Phenomena

3.2.1 Witchcraft and "Fetish"

Some people relate *bayie* to other supernatural powers such as *asuman* ("fetish" or charms). In his article of "Anti Witchcraft Cult in Asante," McCaskie offers a vivid description of what he terms "a political crisis of the first magnitude—the abortive 'rebellion' of Asantehemaa [Queen] Adoma Akosua against [Asantehene] Osei Tutu Kwame."[204] McCaskie argues that "in fact the very mechanics of the coup carry clear *structural* resonances of witchcraft as understood by the Asante." He explains that some priests "prepared a certain Fetische compound, which they delivered to the king,

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[201] Although Damuah's view is well known in Ghana, it was emphasised during the writer's interview with Ɔsɔfo Kwabena Quarm, acting Director of Traditional Medicine, Ghana Ministry of Health. He is the current head of Afrikania Mission.

[202] The term "witch" is said to derive from Anglo-Saxon word *wicca* (male witch) and *wicce* (female witch) and from the verb *wiccian* meaning "to cast a spell." J. B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 8; H. E. Wedeck and W. Baskin, *A Dictionary of Spiritualism* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1971), 364. According to Russell, the other term "wizard" derives from Middle English *wis* (wise) and it appears about 1440 meaning wise man or woman. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it designated a high magician, and after 1825 it was used as the equivalent of a witch. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft*, 12.

[203] The definition of the "witch" in the West includes a sorcerer, a Satanist and a person who worships the ancient gods and practises magic (Wedeck and Baskin, *A Dictionary of Spiritualism*, 364; Russell, *A History of Witchcraft*, 8; Charles Winick, *Dictionary of Anthropology*, London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1957, 495), 495, 569. However, see Robbins who although from Western perspective differentiates the witchcraft and sorcery . Rossell Hope Robbins, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 1957, Second Impression (London: Bookplan, 1965), 471.

[204] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 128. His presentation was based on Dupuis' accounts of an incident between 1818-19 concerning the Asantehemaa who attempted to cause the failure of Asantehene

with an injunction to burn the compound daily in a consecrated fire pot within the palace…."[205] Although McCaskie's work on the Anti-Witchcraft Cult has a direct historical identification, his reference to witchcraft here is misleading.[206] Clearly from an Asante perspective, what McCaskie refers to is *suman* or *aduro* ("fetish" or charm). *Bayie* is not prepared by a priest to be given to an individual. It is considered spiritual and not given in such a visible manner. Similarly, in her work, among the Brong of Akan, Fink identifies two types of *bayie*, "*amodini-bayie"* and "*bonsam-bayie*."[207] She presents *bonsam-bayie* as that which is available to both men and women *and amodini-bayie* as that which is exclusively available to every woman.[208] The Akan word *amodini* (do not say it) is just a refined way of referring to the female genitals. It is the belief that a person who has been in contact with the female genitals, either through sexual union or through birth, needs to treat that woman kindly. Fink rightly shows that "if a woman feels humiliated or insulted" by a person who has come in contact with her genitals, that woman can activate her genital power against the person.[209] On the one hand, this is *bayie*, since it works against the person to whom it is directed. On the other hand, this is not *bayie*, but only an act of execration (or "fetishism") directed against a person who has done wrong against somebody. Thus Fink's presentation does not represent a clear picture of the Akan concept of *bayie*. The *bayie*, which the Akan fears, is that which she refers to as *bonsam-bayie* which is available to both men and women.

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by direct disobedience of observance of instruction concerning a "fetish" that had been prepared for the king. See Dupuis, *Journal of Residence*, 114-16.

[205] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 126.

[206] It must be said that the Queen's direct disobedience to the instruction given amounts to witchcraft.

[207] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 195.

[208] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 194.

[209] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 195.

3.2.2 Witchcraft and Spirit Possession

Witchcraft is similar to spirit-possession, but the two are said to be distinct phenomena. They are similar because both are supposed to have supernatural powers and are thought to be controlled by certain spirits to perform certain actions. They are said to be different, in the sense that in witchcraft, the *ahoboa* (witch-spirit animal) is thought to cohort with a person in a symbiotic marriage, while in spirit-possession, a person is said to be a vehicle, whose body serves as a receptacle for a spirit entity, who controls the person for brief intervals and then vacates. The difference is heightened by the fact that while so-called witches are socially abhorred and despised in society, spirit-possessed persons (*akɔmfoɔ*) are well respected.[210] This stems from the notion that the functions of those who are possessed by the gods are thought to help the community by the giving of divination and the knowledge of herbal medicines. Thus while a spirit-possession phenomenon is a public affair, witchcraft is a concealed (or nocturnal) activity.

[210] Parrinder, *West African Religion,* 75; Rattray, *Ashanti*, 147; Bannerman-Richter, *The Practice of Witchcraft,* 46.

3.2.3 Witchcraft and Dreams

Witchcraft is directly connected with dreams. Dreams have always captivated humankind. Many theories have been advanced for their presence.[211] The North American psychologist Castle is very helpful when he analyses that "they [dreams] might be visits from an external god, the wanderings of the dreamer's soul, a shift in dimensional planes enabling the dreamer to peer into the future, from some temporary disturbance of the brain or digestive systems."[212] Rattray rightly observes that "a survey of Ashanti religion would hardly be complete without some reference to dreams and dream interpretation."[213] Thus dreams have important roles to place in the life of the Akan. The derivation of the Akan expression for dream, *so dae* is illuminative; *so* means "to carry" and *da* means "to sleep," the expression means "to carry something into sleep." Consequently many dreamers seek the help of others for interpretation.

Many self-confessed witches and those accused of witchcraft base their evidences on dreams.[214] Thus the Caribbean theologian Mulrain's understanding of dreams is applicable here. He states that dreams may be "spiritual intervention or … the media through which some message is conveyed."[215] Field observes that "different persons in similar situations often dream identical stereotyped dreams. For instance, people in fear

[211] For discussion of such theories, see, for example, Sigmund G. Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. James Strachey (London: Penguin Books, 1953);145-159; Jung, *Dreams*, 3-20; Russ Parker, *Healing Dreams: Their Power and Purpose in Your Life*, 1988, New Edition (London: SPCK, 1996), 15-25.
[212] Robert L. Van de Castle, *Our Dreaming Mind: The Role of Dreams in Politics, Arts, Religion and Psychology from Ancient Civilizations to the Present Day* (London: Aquarian, 1994), 3.
[213] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 192. Field also writes that dreams are regarded as highly important and when vivid or frightening give the dreamer great anxiety till a satisfying interpretation is found." Field, *Search for Security*, 131.
[214] Field, *Search for Security*, 170, 179-81; Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 192.
[215] Mulrain, *Theology in Folk Culture*, 134.

of retribution for sin commonly dream that the deity, in the guise of a long-haired priest, is chasing them with a club and sometimes knocks them down.[216] Almost all witchcraft interviews I conducted during my fieldwork[217] related their experiences to dreams.[218] Significant is the "report" of Ahenkorah, who was pursuing a Ph.D. in Theatre Studies at the time of interview.[219] His testimony began with the statement, "this is a report of how I became a victim of witchcraft. These have been revealed to me in dreams." In fact many people who are accused of witchcraft often admit to being witches on the assumption that they probably committed the alleged crime in their dreams.[220] Thus, here, dreams become spiritual channels in understanding physical happenings. Yet, despite the relationship between dreams and witchcraft, they are held to be two different experiences. This leads to the next section, which discusses the nature of Akan witchcraft.

3.3 The Lore of Witchcraft

3.3.1 Material and Immaterial

Among the Akan, *abayigorɔ* (the practice of witchcraft), though considered a nocturnal act, is a well-structured concept with its byelaw, which needs to be presented.

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[216] Field, *Search for Security*, 131.
[217] These include self-claimed witches, those accused by others, those who claimed to be delivered from witchcraft and those who claimed to be victims of witchcraft.
[218] For instance, the sources of their knowledge of witchcraft possession were in dreams. Some people accuse others of giving them witchcraft, because they saw them in dreams. Someone claimed to be a witch because in a dream he turned into a bird and visited a friend. For example, see 'Go Slow,' Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Denkyemoasi, July 19, 1999; Francis Agyemang, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Wiamoase, July 27, 1999; Ferkah Ahenkorah, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Oslo, Norway, January 30, 2000.
[219] His testimony is analysed in Chapter Five. See appendix 2 A for his testimony.
[220] Cf. J. Akin Omoyajowo, "What is Witchcraft," in *Traditional Religion in West Africa*, 334.

ɔ*bayifoɔ* (the witch) is supposed to possess *bayikukuo* (witchcraft object). The object is thought to be a pot in which a mixture of human blood and articles, including beads, herbs, human nails and snakes are said to be found. This substance is believed to be kept in various places such as one's room, a farm, a river, the hearth, the dunghill or just outside one's house. When one is accused of witchcraft, one is expected to show where one's witchcraft object is hidden, so that it will be brought out and burnt. Very few people are able to produce some physical objects.[221] They often claim that an object like *bayikukuo* is spiritual.

Another appurtenance for ɔ*bayifoɔ* is *ahoboa* (plural *ahomoa*).[222] *Ahoboa* can better be translated as the animal power that is within me. This thesis adopts the term "witch-spirit animal" to apply to *ahoboa*. The witch-spirit animal is supposed to be an animal such as a snake, a dog, a lion, a bird or a centipede. It is supposed to be a spiritual animal and invisible, but may materialise at the time of performing a duty. It is believed that a person can have more than one witch spirit-animal. The more witch spirit-animals a person has, the more powerful the person becomes. It is believed that some witches carry their witch spirit-animals on their persons, in such items as jewellery, girdles and stringed beads which Akan women wear around their waists, wrists, ankles and knees. Others are thought to carry them in their bellies or genital parts. These witch spirit-animals are believed to perform actions for witches. It is said that if such an animal is killed in the performance of its duty, the person will die;

[221] In one incident, where *bayikukuo* was requested, a girl cut the finger of a boy and presented it to the claimant. Interview was conducted with the person whose maidservant got involved in this incident. Emmanuel A. Boate, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, August 15, 1999.
[222] Literally "my animal self".

however, others say that the *ahoboa* can never be caught, since it is a spiritual animal. In this regard, it can be said that the witch-spirit animal is thought to be the real power that the witch possesses; without *ahoboa* there is no witchcraft. The belief that both the witchcraft object and the witch-spirit animal are spiritual, places *ɔbayifoɔ* (the witch) above the level of an ordinary human being—"a human spirit-being."

3.3.2 Acquisition of Witchcraft

It is believed that witchcraft can be acquired through various means. One such means is heredity. It is claimed that a person whose witchcraft is hereditary might have received it from almighty God; such witches are held to be very powerful.[223] Witchcraft is also believed to be mostly inherited from a dying witch within a family. Or, it might have been given to a person in the mother's womb.[224] Thus for the Akan, witchcraft is mainly acquired within one's family. It is held that an inherited witchcraft cannot be given to a person in another clan, unless in an exceptional case where it can be given to a true friend.[225] It is believed that witchcraft which has been transferred by a dying witch to a beloved without one's knowledge, begins to manifest in the recipient after the death of the transferor. Coincidentally, the effects of the death of loved-ones on relatives make some of them emotional, nervous, weeping, talkative and day dreaming. Thus many such people are taken for witches.

[223] Four of my informants claimed that God gave them their witchcraft.
[224] One of my educated informants who claims to be a witch explains, "not all persons in a particular family are born with witchcraft. It is only one or two. Whenever a witch is on the verge of dying he/she bestows it through transference to any family member physically very close to her in the event of death. No one dies and leaves this world with witchcraft. It is often left as a family legacy. It is only transferable within a particular family."

Another means of obtaining witchcraft is said to be the receiving of gifts. A practising witch, it is believed, can infest articles, such as necklaces, beads and pieces of clothes with their power and give them to a person without the recipient's knowledge that the articles contain witchcraft. A person can also, supposedly, acquire witchcraft through eating certain foods, such as mash-plantain mixed with red oil, prepared by a witch and infested with his/her power. Another means of acquiring witchcraft is believed to be through the purchasing of it, by anyone who wants it. However, it is said that this kind of acquisition of witchcraft is not a common practice of the Akan.[226] Both Debrunner and Field draw attention to the belief that witchcraft is often given to people against their will.[227] My informants reveal that in such cases the victims will fall sick, especially with epilepsy and insanity, and may even die, because of the alleged rejection of witchcraft.

To get witchcraft by one of the means described here is believed to be common. However, according to Opoku Mensah, he tried to acquire witchcraft to help him do his "pastoral work," but all attempts failed.[228] An anxious person like Opoku Mensah who fails to procure witchcraft renders the claim that it is easy to acquire it questionable. Rather his experience affirms the assumption that one is born with witchcraft and may

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[225] It is said that as the relative or friend is about to die, s/he breaths into the nostril of the person or gives a gift, which could be an article taken from his/her witchcraft substance, to the person s/he loves.
[226] Strictly speaking, the type which can be bought is not considered as witchcraft. It is usually called Nzema *bayie or sika duro* (medicine for money). See also Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 182. It is believed that such medicine can produce money for those who acquire it. Usually acquisition of such power is supposed to be effected after the death of a beloved wife, child, nephew, or after a person becomes impotent if a man, or barren if a woman.
[227] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 58-59; Field, *Religion and Medicine*, 154.
[228] Opoku Mensah says that he was an assistant to a pastor who claimed to be a witch. This pastor promised to give him witchcraft but failed to do so. He travelled to places and contacted people who claimed to have witchcraft, but he could not acquire it. Opoku Mensah, Tape Recording, Kumasi, Interview by Author, (August 6, 1997).

also have inherited it from one's family member. Rattray reveals that in his time non-adults could not be witches.[229] Debrunner shows that the concept was changing in his time.[230] The foregoing description shows that currently, the belief is completely different, as all categories of people, young and old, male and female, literate and illiterate are all believed to be possible witches.

3.3.3 The Organisation and Activities of Witches

It is thought that witches are organised on local, national and international levels. In the covens are kings, queens, messengers and executioners. At night, it is believed that their *akra* (souls) leave their physical bodies in sleep and fly off to meetings.[231] Debrunner writes that the meeting places of witches were thought to be on big trees[232] and the covens' pots, which contain human blood, were usually kept under such trees.[233] Modern meeting places include the sea, rivers, lakes, market places and church buildings.[234] In all these, it is believed that the ordinary person cannot see the organisation with the naked eyes.

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[229] Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, 28.
[230] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 56-57.
[231] They may fly on the backs of animals or they may turn into *ahomoa* (witch spirit-animals) and fly. They may also turn useless objects, such as plantain stems and palm branches, into aeroplanes and fly with them. As they fly, they emit flames from their eyes, mouths and noses, and can change into fireballs. Parallels may be drawn in medieval European witchcraft beliefs where it was said that counterparts of various members of societies were found among the witches, such as generals and cashiers, and that the witches could ride on brooms or fly naked through the air and use ointment to change their shapes. See Heinrich Krammer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum: The Classic Study of Witchcraft*, 1928, trans. Montague Summers (London: Bracken Books, 1996), 104-08; Russell, *A History of Witchcraft*, 22-84.
[232] Usually these were the vindictive trees described in section 2.4.2 above
[233] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 24-26.
[234] They are thought to organise all kinds of activities and entertainment such as shopping and playing football.

It is believed that the *abayifoɔ* feed on human flesh and drink human blood, which they take in turns to provide. The *ɔbayifoɔ* can provide only a relative.[235] Consequently, the *abayifoɔ* kill people during special occasions such as Christmas, Easter and the Akan festivals for celebrations. This, it is thought, accounts for the many deaths during these occasions. It is alleged that the witches can even fly overseas to attack relatives. There are stories of people overseas who turned on their televisions and saw their mothers. It is strongly believed that witches cause infertility in women, impotence in men, and cause *awomawu*. *Awomawu* is the condition where some couples often encounter infant mortality. Other diseases like diabetes, leprosy, and convulsions are thought to be caused by witches.

Abayifoɔ are also thought to inflict material losses on people.[236] Again they are believed to make people ignoble through their deeds.[237] It is held that witches can read people's intentions and work against them.

Bayie must not be confused with other supernatural ways of causing evil and harm. The work of *akɔmfoɔ*, *asumankwafoɔ* and *adutofoɔ* (priest and sorcerers) involve ritual acts and visible apparatus, such as the use of *asuman* and *aduro* ("fetishes" and

[235] The *akra* (souls) of the persons provided are turned into sheep or cows and killed. If the *sunsum* (personality-spirit) of a person is strong, such a person cannot be killed. Victims die when their hearts are eaten. Such people killed spiritually may experience physical death through natural causes such as motor accidents, suicide, disease, drowning and snakebites.

[236] These include preventing people from getting jobs; sending their *ahomoa* (witch-spirit animals) to steal people's money; breeding parasitic plants on cash crops like cocoa trees so that the trees bear less fruit.

[237] For instance, it is said that they can make leaders, such as chiefs, rich men, heads of state, family heads and pastors commit undesirable acts like adultery, rape, excessive drinking and theft so as to make them lose respect in the community and possibly lose their positions.

"medicines"). The distinctive characteristic of harming by *bayie,* as described above, is that it is done in secret; it is the imperceptible projection of inducement from the witch.

Essentially, it is believed that witchcraft is evil, but it is said that witches can turn all the destructive acts reported above into good deeds for those they love.[238] The difference between good and evil *bayie* is said to depend upon the nature of the possessor and not the *bayie* itself.[239] *Bayikwasea* or *bayiboro* (evil witchcraft), it is held, grows through the possessor's insatiable appetite for "human flesh" and power, instead of using his/her power to help people.

The implications of these suppositions are that: (i) *bayie* is considered a spiritual, complex and secret society that cannot be measured by physical and scientific methods; (ii) all people live in fear and suspicion;[240] (iii) all sudden deaths, infant mortality and mysterious deaths are assigned to *abayifoɔ*; (iv) any chronic disease is the work of *abayifoɔ*; (v) any act of mismanagement or carelessness is the responsibility of *abayifoɔ*; (vi) all sorts of bad behavioural practices are attributed to the scheme of *abayifoɔ*; (vii) the relatives of good witches prosper, while the relatives of evil witches suffer. This whole concept causes confusion and suspicion among family members, since no one

[238]For instance: it is thought that they can promote good marriages for the women they love; make students brilliant by adding to their brains those removed from others; use their powers to help people get good jobs and make them rich; help their daughters get good husbands and bear more children. One of my informants, nicked-named "Go Slow," declares, "Everybody dreams. I am a witch. My spirit is from childhood and no human being is its source. My work is to protect people who are under witchcraft attack. I have saved about seven people."

[239] The Tiv people of Nigeria hold a similar view. See Umar Habila Dadem Danfulani, "Exorcising Witchcraft: The Return of the Gods in the New Religious Movements on the Jos Plateau and the Benue Regions of Nigeria," *African Affairs* 98 (1999): 174.

[240] This is worsened by the attitude of some physicians and doctors who, when faced with medical problems which baffle them, refer their patients to "spiritually powerful people."

knows who is *ɔbayifoɔ*. Consequently, any kind of mishap, failure or disease calls for consultation from a powerful spirit-person for supernatural knowledge of the causation of the problem. This assumption leaves room for dubious people to deceive the populace and cause confusion in society. For instance, when a prognosis given includes naming a family member, which it often does, it creates family problems. Indeed, *abayisɛm* (witchcraft issues) usually become the source of family tension, which often draw family members into litigation before the family head.[241]

3.4 Protection from Witches

All classes of society seek protection from *abayifoɔ*.[242] The best protection is held to be *sunsum ɛyɛ den* (a strong personality-spirit). Akan say that *sɛ wo sunsum ɛyɛ den a ɔbayifoɔ ntumi wo* (if your personality-spirit is strong witches cannot overpower you). Debrunner mentions that this idea of protection, "*sunsum ɛyɛ duru* [or *den*]" was repeated to him several times.[243] People with *sunsum a ɛyɛ den* are those who are bold, fearless, forceful, strong-willed or, simply put, those with a strong-personality. Witches are said to attack the *akra* (souls) of people. Strong *sunsum* protects *ɔkra*.[244] The issue is that how can people who are already fearful of witches be strengthened in their personality-spirits, so as to protect their souls from them? The "traditionally spiritual people" (*akɔmfoɔ*, *asumankwafoɔ, adunsifoɔ*) have ways of providing answers for this problem.

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[241] See Bleek, *Marriage, Inheritance and Witchcraft*, 340; Field, *Search for Security*, 128.
[242] This includes the poor and rich, the illiterate and the literate, the "pagan" and the Christian.
[243] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 88.
[244] See section 1.4 above.

The solutions are found in the giving of *asuman* (charms, amulets or "fetishes") and the placing of clients under taboos.[245] These clients often "put their heads under the god"; that is, they enter into relationship or covenant with the *ɔbosom* to protect them.[246] Some of the prophylactic *suman,* like talismans and cowries, must always be worn, carried or hung on doors to prevent witches from entering their rooms. Others like *mɔtɔ* (black powder) are either injected into the body through small cuts that are made on joints or faces and the medicines rubbed in, or through drinking into the body with water or wine. Sometimes people bathe in herbal water, or they burn *ɛhyɛ* (similar to incense) in their rooms. People who are already sick are besmeared with white clay. The belief here is that these medicines, either in or on the person, will make that person's flesh so bitter or nasty that witches will not care to taste it. Thus, it can be inferred by these claims that the *sunsum* of the clients become strengthened and so receive protection by becoming fearless of witches. The Pentecostal concept of exorcism, which "enforces" deliverance for all Akan believers, has this protective medication in the background.[247]

3.5 "Exorcism" of Witchcraft and Evil Spirit

Existing literature on Akan is replete with references to witchcraft, the gods and "fetishism." However, the clear presentation of a systematic "act of exorcism" or "dealings of witchcraft" has remained a matter of peripheral importance in the literature

[245] Placing people under taboo is a philosophy, which makes the clients acknowledge the so-called supernatural power behind the 'fetish.'
[246] See section 2.5 above.
[247] See chapter five section 2.3.

rather than a direct treatment.[248] Therefore, the subject is elucidated by reference to my fieldwork.

3.5.1 Appeasement of Spirit of Evil Intent

It has been shown that often spirits are domesticated and become the tutelage of families or clans. This is not always the case. When a spirit entity attempts to take possession of a person an experienced *ɔkɔmfoɔ* (priest) is first called in to detect the type of entity. When the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* discerns the entity to be a destructive one, attempts are made to sever relationship between the entity and the victim. Here, the spirit is not witchcraft but an evil deity. Since the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* does not have the power to exorcise the spirit by force, what s/he does is to request the spirit to leave by pacifying it through rituals.[249] If one is able to stand up, after the rituals are over without assistance, one is assured of cleansing, and freedom is regained. Thus here exorcism is performed through appeasement.

[248] For Example, see Rattray, *Ashanti*; Field, *Search for Security*; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*.

[249] There are variations of the rituals. But the common one is by using seven stones and seven sticks of a broom. Here, the victim is made to lie flat down with the face up into the skies. The stones are used to touch the seven main orifices of the body, followed in same way by the seven sticks of a broom. Words of pleading and forgiveness are made on behalf of the victim for failing to accommodate the deity. This is repeated three times after which the person is asked to stand up. The action is repeated until the person is able to stand up without assistance. When standing up becomes difficult the ritual is then completed by the rubbing of leaves from a special local plant called *gyinantwi*. Mrs Cecilia Tibu, Interview by Author, Accra, December 23, 1999; Ɔkɔmfoɔ Kofi Asamoah, Interview by Philip Amaning for Author, Nyinampong, January 19, 2000; *Opanyin* Yaw Madie, Interview by Philip Amaning for Author, Fawade, January 20, 2000; *Ɔbosomfoɔ* Koklota, Interview by Elder Ernest Abrokwah for Author, Amanfrom-Koforidua, January 20, 2001.

3.5.2 Hearing at the Chief's Court: Chewing of *Odum* Bark and Corpse Carrying

Originally, it was the king's/chief's court, which dealt with witchcraft issues.[250] My informants disclosed to me that in the past the behaviour of persons betrayed their involvement in witchcraft.[251] If a person frequently cursed others and the pronouncement came to pass, for example, if a person pronounced that a pregnant woman would die in child birth and that came to pass, and pronounced again that another would die of snake bites and that came to pass, a relative might accuse the person of witchcraft and arraign the person before the chief's court for a hearing. If the person was found guilty, *wɔtwa no asu na watu ogya ama no akuta*, the said witch was ostracised from the clan/nation and this was demonstrated by driving the witch out with a fire-brand in his/her hand.[252] The witch could settle in any other clan or nation.[253] Alternatively, the accused witch could request the custom of the chewing of *odum* (guineense) bark. This was a formalised method of *abisa* ("divination"), though not to be carried out by the chief, yet being controlled by him. The accused witch would be allowed to chew *odum* bark. Vomiting the poison was considered a portent of innocence. On the contrary, if the relatives of the victim thought that their kinsman

[250] This can be inferred from many accounts, for example: Rattray, *Ashanti*, 313-14; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 130; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 132.
[251] For example, Nana Kwaku Nipa, Abanso Hene of Denkyira, Interview by Author, Tape Recorded, Dunkwa-on-Offin, July 15, 1999; Nana Baye Oseakwan 11, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Daban, July 15, 1999; Nana Bafour Domfeh Gyeabour 111, Nsumankwahene of Asantehene, Interview.
[252] Cf. Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 29. Here one Yaw Adawuah told Rattray that "a self-confessed witch used to have a fire placed in her hand before being expelled from the village." See also Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, 313.
[253] One of my informants, who wanted to remain anonymous, told me that his ancestry goes back to one of such witch-ostracised persons. He continued that when his great great grandmother made a meaningful contribution to the new nation she had settled in, her family line was adopted into the new nation and it was recognised as one of the *asafo* groups (a warrior division with a sub-chief as a head).

appeared as if he/she were going to die, *wɔtɔ ne ti,* that is, they would offer to "buy his/her head."[254]

Another *abisa* ("procedure") for finding out witches was the *ofunu soa* (the corpse carrying). This was the tradition whereby the spirit of the deceased was implored to assist the living to find out the person or witch who killed him/her. With this in the background, the carriers of the corpse were supposedly possessed and directed by the spirit of the dead person to pounce on the culprit. The culprit was then sent to the chief for hearing.[255] The colonial government in the early twentieth century suppressed both customs.[256]

The practice of killing witches was uncommon among the Akan. Although early ethnographers of Akan people such as Ellis, Bowdich and Cruickshank give a different picture, by writing that witches were tortured to death, yet beside Cruickshank who gives a vivid description of how an old man proved guilty by the corpse carrying ordeal

[254] For detailed description of this custom see, Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 393-75; see also Malcom C. McLeod, "A Survey of the Literature on Witchcraft in Ghana (Excluding the Northern Region) with Particular Reference to the Akans," A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Bachelor of Letters, Exeter College, The University of Oxford, 1965), 148-169, 177-81; Malcolm C. McLeod, "On the Spread of Anti-Witchcraft Cults in Modern Asante," in *Changing Social Structure in Ghana: Essays in the Comparative Sociology of a New State and an Old Tradition*, Jack Goody, ed. (London: International African Institute, 1975), 110.

[255] For a detailed description of this custom see, Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 166; see also Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, Including an Account of the Native Tribes, and Their Intercourse with Europeans, Vol. 2*, 1853, Second Edition (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1966), 177-79; Jack Goody, "Anomie in Ashanti," *Africa* xxvii, no. 3 (July 1957): 356; McLeod, "Anti-Witchcraft Cults," 110.

[256] McLeod, "Anti-Witchcraft Cults," 110.

in the Fanti area was killed, the rest do not give evidence.[257] According to Rattray, it was held that "a witch was never to be decapitated; a witch's blood must not be shed."[258] However, he takes the point further that after being found guilty, "either by ordinary process of a public trial,[259] by having been tracked down by a witch-finder, or as the result of an ordeal, the witch was either driven out with a fire-brand in his or her hand to die of starvation, or was smeared all over with palm oil and cast into a fire, or clubbed or strangled, or drowned."[260] Thus Rattray intends to convey the idea that witches were killed.[261] Debrunner takes this matter up and writes that in the past witches were killed, but, like McLeod, he does not explain this further than Rattray.[262] Busia also mentions that "unless the victim of the witch was avenged, his ghost would disturb the community," yet he does not show how the vengeance was carried out.[263] Ghanaian writers such as Pobee, Assimeng, Sarpong and Nukunya are silent on this aspect. With regard to the killing of witches, anthropologists and other scholars who write about Akan witchcraft stand the risk of being influenced by the killing of witches during the medieval period in the West to make assertions such as those in the work of Debrunner.[264]

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[257]Alfred Burton Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking People of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1887), 146; Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, 211; Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, Vol. 1*, 179.
[258] Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 313.
[259] By this Rattray might to be referring to the trial at the chief's court.
[260] Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 313.
[261] But the mention of a witch-finder here calls attention to anti-witchcraft shrines which developed in Ghana in the later part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries, which this chapter will soon turn its attention to. This may give the slightest information that the rise of those movements might have influenced this record, since witch hunting activity was very common.
[262] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 126; cf. McLeod concludes that "when a person was convicted of being a witch an *obayifo* [witch] or *bonsam* [wizard] he was killed or driven away from the area." McLeod, "A Survey of Literature," 18, cf. Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 313.
[263]Busia, *The Position of the Chief* , 74.
[264] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 126.

It is plausible that killing did not happen very frequently, otherwise one would have found occasional narration of such punishments in the journals of the British envoys and missionaries in Asante and other Akan areas, just as they did on human sacrifice and capital punishment.[265] The concept of "not shedding the blood of witches" among the Akan might have been heavily based upon the well-established belief that witches could only bewitch members of their own families; it would be difficult to kill a member of one's own family, such as a mother or a sister. Again, the belief that a witch does not die with witchcraft may have also strengthened this notion. This does not take away the fact that some witches might have suffered death on account of some accusations. But Rattray's conclusion speaks out clearly:

> Although witchcraft in Ashanti was not uncommon, and although the offence was undoubtedly regarded with particular repugnance, one fact stands out clearly, namely the absence in Ashanti of hunts for witches, resulting in the extermination of whole village communities, which was such a marked feature of the 'smelling out' of witches in other parts of the African continent.[266]

3.5.3 "Minimisation" by the *Aman-Abosom* (the Tutelar Gods)

Traditionally, it was the *abosom* (gods) who were expected to protect people from witchcraft, through their priests. Rattray, who has written at length about the *aman-abosom* (gods) and also on witchcraft, is silent on this issue.[267] Debrunner briefly hints that on the advice of the priests of some traditional tutelar deities (*aman-abosom*), an

[265] For example, see Dupuis, *Journal of Residence*, 114-15; Thomas Birch Freeman, *Journal of Various Visits to The Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomi in Western Africa*, 1844, Robert I. Rotberg, ed. Third Edition (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1968), 198-99; cf. Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking People of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, 146.
[266] Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 313. Rattray fails to cite an example from any African country.

association of Ga, Effutu and Agona towns[268] called in an "anti-witchcraft exorcist" in 1855.[269] He does not show how these priests perform exorcism; neither does he treat exorcism by the *aman-abosom*. He rather deals with exorcism by the anti-witchcraft shrines.[270] Others, including Fink, Assimeng, Sarpong and Field, fail to treat exorcism by aman-abosom.[271]

In his *West African Religion*, focusing on specific ethnic groups, including Akan, Parrinder reports that when a witch was accused "the priest will beat loud gongs in the sick person's ears, and this harsh treatment should drive the evil spirit away."[272] Parrinder was not clear as to whether the beating of the drums drove away the evil spirit from the sick person or the so-called witch. If the beating of the drums were geared towards the driving away of the evil spirit from the witch, then it would be deemed that exorcism here was accomplished through the beating of the drum, otherwise it would be considered that in this situation there was no real exorcism.

For the Akan, however, it was held that witchcraft could not be exorcised. Either the witches' power was reduced or they were made powerless through rituals performed on them. Field was informed that "curing them [witches] is like plucking a live fowl: after

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[267] Rattray, *Ashanti*, 86-211; Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 25-37.
[268] Ga is not an Akan ethnic group, yet here they join with Akan speaking people. It shows that their beliefs are similar.
[269] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 106. Debrunner reveals that the only anti-witchcraft shrine activity on any considerable scale that he could trace in old records, was that of an "anti-witchcraft exorcist," whose accounts, according to him, Rev. Bohner had described in his book *Im Lande des Fetisch* which was published by Basel in 1905.
[270] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 103-34.
[271] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 182-206; Assimeng, *Religion and Social Change*, 162-194*;* Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 45-50; Field, *Search for Security*.

a time the features grow again."[273] When witches confessed their witchcraft, the *akɔmfoɔ* (priests) were expected to minimise their power. Alternatively, if the *akɔmfoɔ* found out that their clients, that is, persons who had "put their heads under the gods" or sought protection from them, were being attacked by witches, they contacted the suspected witches at night and bargained for their clients. If all efforts made by priests failed, then they might expose stubborn witches, and compel them to release the souls of their clients. The arrested witches would be asked to confess all the evil acts that they had done. Significantly, they would be requested to show the priest the kind of medicine that could minimise their power. Or, if the witches had become insane, the *akɔmfoɔ* would minister herbs that would quieten them down, until they became normal. A day would then be set aside for the "minimising" of witchcraft. The Akan idioms for this act are: *bubu nataban* (to break the wings), *bubu ne prɛ* (to break the claws) and *dwodwo na no* (to "cool" the mouth). In the case of a self-confessed witch, this would be done privately. Concerning the witch who was arrested by *ɔbosom* (a deity), this act would be made public.

On the said day of the "minimising" of witchcraft, the witch was stripped naked and seated on a stone called *bosomboɔ* (stone of the god), also called *nokwareboɔ* (stone of true confession) and *bosamboɔ* (stone of wizardry). A chicken was slaughtered and the blood poured on the witch's head. The witch's mouth was hit three times; a symbolic act that the witch should not eat human flesh again. The witch was then made to stand

[272] Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 169.
[273] Field, *Search for Security*, 37.

up and the chicken was placed on the stone. *Onyankopong* (God) was then invited to have mercy and forgive the witch. After that a sheep was slaughtered and cut into pieces. Some pieces were thrown away, while the rest were shared among the people present. Then the ɔkɔmfoɔ would offer some herbal treatment to be put in a bucket of water and instruct the victim to bathe in water for a specific number of days.[274] Through this act the power of a witch was believed to be "minimised."

"Minimisation" of witchcraft in this way could bring healing to the witch. The healing of the evil side of witchcraft in this situation was regarded as taking place through the supernatural power of the god working through the medication of the priest. Thus healing here is both medical, as evidenced by the application of the herbs, and magico-religious, as implied in the ritual and the process of the application of medicine. Again, here, it was not the practice of the Akan to completely exorcise witchcraft. The Akan expressions used show that the power of the witch was rather minimised, or, appropriately put, the witch was cured of the evil side of witchcraft.

This ideology of "minimisation" appears to be the underlying principle of the witches' camp at Gambaga in the Northern Region of Ghana.[275] Once witches are at the camp,

[274] Nana Yaw Poku, Traditional Priest, Interview by Author, Krofrom-Daban, August 3, 1999; ; Ɔkɔmfoɔ Makosa, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Larte, July 31, 1999; Opanyin Oduro, Former Traditional Priest, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Kyekyewere, September 1999; Dorcas Gyau-Agyemang, Former Traditional Priestess, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Batama - Kumasi, August 4, 1999.

[275] The camp houses well over 120 women of ages ranging between forty-eight to seventy years. The camp is under the strict supervision and "parsonage" of a chief – Gambaga-ranna who claims most of the women under his care ran to his abode for safety and security. Apparently, these women, most of whom claim to be

the Gambaga *ranna* (chief) claims to have the power to nullify their powers so that they cannot perform. Field gives a hint about the ability of *akɔmfoɔ* to cure witches. She declares:

> Personally I am convinced that a good witch-doctor can recognise a witch when he sees one and that he can tell when an illness is an ordinary one or brought about by witchcraft. Translated into European idiom, he can tell when a person is a compulsive neurotic and when an illness is a functional or hysterical one. *And he can and does cure* (italic mine).[276]

Field does not develop this point further. For instance, she does not show the activities of a good witch-doctor, neither does she show what type of sickness is brought about by witchcraft, or what type of sickness is an ordinary disease. However, she gives a clear indication that, from her perspective, *akɔmfoɔ* can cure what the Ghanaians consider witchcraft.

3.5.4 Exorcism by *Abosom-Abrafoɔ* (Anti-Witchcraft Shrines)

3.5.4.1 *Ɔdomankoma* - Antecedent of Anti-Witchcraft Shrines

There arose in Akan a movement of anti-witchcraft shrines in the early part of the twentieth century. Their activities feature prominently in literature of the Akan

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witches who have killed and spiritually eaten relatives, fled from their assailing relatives who threatened them with torture and death by any means. According to history given by the chief during my fieldwork, in the olden days witches were killed. The rims of pots were fired until they were red-hot. The witches would then be "adorned" with the red-hot necklaces of pot rims and left to die. However, this heinous practice was abandoned over a century ago on the advice of his great grandfather who claimed to have the power to nullify witchcraft. The camp was therefore established for those whose relatives brought them as self-acclaimed witches; others who came on their own accord were also allowed. Yahaya Wuni, Gambaga Ranna (Paramount Chief), Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Gambaga, August 18, 1999.

[276] Field, *Religion and Medicine*, 160. It is worth noting that Field uses the term witch-doctor in 1937, but writing in 1960, when she had better understood the Ghanaian situation, she adopted the Akan term *ɔkɔmfoɔ*. For example, see Field, *Search for Security*, 67.

people.[277] But the antecedent of the anti-witchcraft shrines was the *ɔdomankoma* (giver of grace) movement. However, with the exception of McCaskie[278](and some brief references to it by Wilks[279] and Lewin[280]) this anti-witchcraft movement is scarcely mentioned.

Ɔdomankoma, also called *abonsamkɔm* (priests of wizards or sorcerers), was a cultic movement that arose in Asante in 1879-80 during the reign of Asantehene Mensa Bonsu which also spread to other parts of Akan including Kwahu.[281] Rattray met a surviving member of *ɔdomankoma*, who, through describing his job, unveiled the movement's witch hunting activities. He claimed to "tell a witch practically at sight" and that he "could cure people of being witches."[282] Rattray, however, does not probe into this discovery. In a succinct discussion of the movement, Winks assesses them as "sorcerers … deeply rooted in traditional witchcraft practices…[which] assumed a highly political conservative character."[283] Lewin refers to "*abonsamfoɔ* [*abonsamkomfoɔ*]" as a "politicoreligious cult."[284] McCaskie feels such references as made by Wilks and Lewin are "ambiguous … for they leave it unclear as to whether the members of *ɔdomankoma* were involved in the practice of witchcraft or in its

[277] For example, Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 103-34; Field, *Search for Security*, 104-464; Anshan Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement," *Journal of Religious History* 20, no. 1 (June 1996): 32-52; Parish Jane, "The Dynamics of Witchcraft and Indigenous Shrines Among the Akan," *Africa* 69, no. 3 (1999): 427-47;Barbara E. Ward, "Some Observation on Religious Cults in Ashanti," *Africa* xxvi, no. 1 (January 1956): 47-61; Goody, "Anomie in Ashanti"; McLeod, "Anti-Witchcraft Cults."
[278] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 126-54; McCaskie, *State and Society*, 133-34.
[279] Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century*, 519-23.
[280]Lewin, *Asante Before the British*, 277.
[281] Wilks, *Asante*, 518; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 129.
[282] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 30.
[283] Wilks, *Asante*, 520.
[284] Lewin, *Asante Before the British*, 277.

suppression."[285] Nevertheless, Wilks comes close to discovering the ideology of the movement as anti-witchcraft cult, since the allusion to sorcerers organising themselves into a movement connotes the idea of "healing" or "exorcism."

Undoubtedly, McCaskie was the first to present *ɔdomankoma* as the clear existence of anti-witchcraft cults in pre-colonial Asante.[286] Among others, he reports how the levirate wife of a man was accused of practising witchcraft and arraigned before a member of the movement.[287] From McCaskie's work and other minor references to it, it would appear that *ɔdomankoma* was an organisation of the Asante *akɔmfoɔ* (priests of the tutelar gods) who saw that the modernising policies of the Asantehene Mensa Bonsu[288] violated the spirit of the "timeless law given by *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* Anokye and Osei Tutu."[289] As a result, they began to form a movement of priests with a view to eradicating the menacing social evil of witchcraft which for them had been able to influence the king to effect changes in social life. Of course, their motives might

[285] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 129.
[286] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 129.
[287] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 130.
[288] Mensa Bonsu had a general dislike for wars and therefore decided to find peaceful ways of winning back the states which had broken away from the Asante nation under the previous regime. When he became king, he set up what was to prove a programme of extensive reform in which Ɔheneba Owusu Ansa, his son, played a major role. The army was reformed, confrontation with the British stopped and corporal punishment was discouraged. Wilks, *Asante*, 518, 628-31; Lewin, *Asante*, 85-109.
[289] McCaskie, "Komfo Anokye of Asante," 315-19. This becomes clearer, as the founder of the movement, *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* Kwaku, claimed to be a reincarnation of Anokye, while his deputies took the names of the early kings of Asante, such as Osei Tutu and Kwaku Dua Panin. *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* Anokye and Osei Tutu are conceived of as being the founding leaders of the Asante nation. They are held be to the author and promulgator respectively of the juridical basis of Asante social order. *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* Anokye was the priest and Osei Tutu was the king. Asantehene Kwaku Dua Panin, who was nicknamed Kwaku Ananse ("the wise"), is traditionally identified as the greatest lawgiver after *Ɔkɔmfoɔ* Anokye and Asantehene Osei Tutu. Wilks, *Asante*, 520; A. A. Anti, *Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye* (Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1971), 65-70; Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 271-83; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 130.

include regaining money through the service charges of the making of "fetish" for soldiers, which had been stopped, because the king had a general dislike of war.[290]

Initially the movement, whose main activities were geared towards witch finding and the "heal of witches," had the endorsement of Asantehene Mensa Bonsu.[291] According to McCaskie, he was cautioned against this support by Ɔheneba[292] Owusu Ansa, who saw them as impostors.[293] Similar to the subsequent anti-witchcraft shrines, Wilks states that "the movement grew to one with over a thousand adherents."[294] However, later the *ɔdomankoma* cult set up a forum of hearings similar to the court of the Asantehene.[295] By establishing its opposition to the Asantehene in a court of law, *ɔdomankoma* acquired broad political overtones. McCaskie reveals that "in effect it came to be a focus for all manner of dissidents…."[296] In its operation, as recorded by McCaskie, confession, conviction or acquittal, absolution in the form of "medicine" and subsequent protection from malign influence, all involved payment.[297] Thus the movement became very wealthy through its anti-witchcraft activities. As the Asantehene did not consent to the setting up of a court of law by the movement, in 1880

[290] Major functions of the priests included the preparation of soldiers for war by the giving of *asuman* (fetish) and prophesying of the result of the war. Success of war usually meant money for the priest. The British envoy and consul for Asante in the early nineteenth century, Joseph Dupuis, observed that "the Ashantees never undertake any national concerns without the invocations to the deities, conjurations, incantations, and a variety of customs which occupy incredible time…." He also described the important role of the priest. The king's dislike for war meant no service charge. Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, 213, 211; Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement," 46.
[291] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 130.
[292] A title given to a chief's son.
[293] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 130.
[294] Wilks, *Asante*, 520.
[295] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 132.
[296] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 132.
[297] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 133.

armed members of *ɔdomankoma* unsuccessfully attacked him in council.[298] Eventually, the Asantehene Mensa Bonsu crushed the movement; many of its members were executed, but not without repercussions. The Asantehene confiscated all the wealth of the *ɔdomankoma* movement to the state. Such confiscation of property from people who had been executed became a policy, and this policy coupled with the underpinning support of *ɔdomankoma* adherents ultimately led to the destoolment of the able king.[299]

The emergence of the *ɔdomankoma* cult becomes very important in Akan history, since it is a clear indication that there were anti-witchcraft activities before the colonial regime. Thus the reasons for its successes/failures and as well as its *modus operandi* become significant factors in assessing the emergence and growth of the numerous anti-witchcraft shrines in the early twentieth century. A number of observations among the emergence of *ɔdomankoma*, which are in common with its broadly typological successors, come into focus:

(i) *ɔdomankoma* claimed to have supernatural power that could "catch" and "heal" witchcraft, as reported by Adawua in Rattray's record.[300]

(ii) *ɔdomankoma* gained many adherents as a result of its anti-witchcraft activities, as shown by Wilks.[301]

[298] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 131.
[299] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 123.
[300] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 30.
[301] Wilks, *Asante*, 520.

(iii) *ɔdomankoma* was a challenge and a threat to the chief's power as indicated by the setting up of an alternative court of authority.[302]

(iv) *ɔdomankoma* illustrated the link between anti-witchcraft activities and the accumulation of wealth. This is indicated in the charges for their services and the confiscation of their wealth to the state after the suppression of the movement.[303]

(v) *ɔdomankoma* was clearly the outcome of a social order under investigation by its people.[304]

Thus, *ɔdomankom*a was clearly a pre-colonial anti-witchcraft cult that was successfully suppressed by the Asantehene Mensa Bonsu, at least publicly. However, the rapid growth of *ɔdomankoma* in a disordered society hints that it must have served the needs of the people. Since life is full of ups and downs, and the Akan still believed that the perplexities in life were mostly caused by evil forces, as they teamed up with the witches, the suppression of the "saviour movement," just like other cults, was only to re-emerge at a later date.

3.5.4.2 Other Anti-Witchcraft Shrines

(i) Origins and Causative Factors

When all the Akan territories, including Asante, were colonised by Britain, there arose in Akan a movement of anti-witchcraft shrines to combat witchcraft activities in the

[302] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 132.
[303] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 133.
[304] As has been shown already, the movement flourished in a period when the king had set up administrative changes which had put the people into disarray. Wilks, *Asante*, 518, 628-31; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 133.

early part of the twentieth century. Much literature abounds on these cults, and need not concern us here.[305] However, a summary of their operations and techniques are needed for the purposes of this thesis. Explicit direct witch-hunting was the major difference between these and the local shrines, *aman-abosom*. Most important among them were: Abirewa (old lady),[306] originated from either Buna in northwest Asante or the Ivory Coast;[307] Hwemeso (watch over me) came from Appolonia in Nzema (southwestern part of Ghana);[308] Tigare, Tongo, Kankamea and Kune originated from northern Ghana.[309] Significantly, these cults were all imported to the Akan areas, those in Akan being offshoots. However, there were some local shrines in the Brong area, which later assumed witch-hunting activities. These include Kwaku Firi, Kwasi Kukuro and Mframa (wind).[310] The records show that these shrines increased rapidly and that in some cases the chiefs collaborated with priests and brought the shrines to the towns.[311] The main purpose was the reintegration of their people, yet it was reported

[305] For example, Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement." Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*; Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical Medicine in Kwahu Culture." McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult." Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 79-81; Jone Acquah, *Accra Survey: A Survey of the Capital of Ghana, Formerly Called the Gold Coast, Undertaking for the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1953-1956* (London: University of London Press Ltd, 1958), 141-43; Field, *Search for Security*. James B. Christensen, "The Adaptive Functions of Fanti Priesthood," in *Continuity and Change in African Culture*, J. Melville Herskovits and William R. Bascom, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 257-78; James B. Christensen, "The Tigari Cult of West Africa," *Paper of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* XXXIX (1954): 389-98; Margaret Field, "Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast and Their Significance," *Africa* 13, no. 2 (1940): 138-49. Christian Council of Ghana, "Report Issued on Tigare," 1947, 1-8.

[306] Note old lady in Akan is associated with wisdom and divination (see section 1.3 above).

[307] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 138; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 107; Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement," 33.

[308] Rattray, Religion and Arts, 31.

[309] Christensen, "The Tigari Cult of West Africa." Christian Council of the Gold Coast, "Tigare"; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 106.

[310] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 107.

[311] Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement," 37; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 106-07; E. R. Addo, Koforidua, "*Abayi-Yie* 'Taking Out Witchcraft'"1930, Ghana National Achieves: Adm/kd 29/6/69; Ghana National Achieves, Kumasi, "Tigare Fetish," September 5, 1938: D425.

that in some towns the priests and chiefs shared the profit.[312] Thus profit-making could not be ruled out of the purposes of establishing the shrines.

A summary review of the literature on the shrines, including Ward,[313] Field,[314] McLeod,[315] Li,[316] Debrunner,[317] Osei-Agyemang[318] and McCaskie[319] reveals what, for them, were the causative factors of the popularity and proliferation of the shrines among the masses. They point to the colonial rule, the introduction of cash crops and the spread of Christianity, which significantly altered the Gold Coast (Ghanaian) society. The disastrous impact on the Gold Coast society, for them, was the creation of a sense of insecurity and fear on the people. Human relations became tenser than ever, and therefore more and more witches were suspected and accused.[320] By these interpretations, these scholars have clearly explained the proliferation of the shrines from a sociological perspective, but they have left out an important magico-religious

[312] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 130; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 140.
[313] She argues that they are new, and have come about to meet the needs generated by the matrilineal system. It must however be pointed out that "such new developments can never be entirely new without local precedent." Ward, "Religious Cults in Ashanti," 47.
[314] Field, "Some New Shrines of the Gold Coast," 138-148. Fields thinks that the destruction of the traditional social organisation, through colonisation, caused personal insecurities. The new shrines appeared and grew as a quest for security. Note the title for her main book on the subject. "*Search for Security."*
[315] McLeod, "Anti-Witchcraft Cults," 106. He argues that the growth of the cults was in relation to change.
[316] For Li, the colonial rule brought such a severe change that there was a marked increase in uncertainty and strain among the people, which resulted in an increase of witchcraft and anti-witchcraft activities. Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement," 43.
[317] As mentioned elsewhere, Debrunner observes that the main crest in the wave of anti-witchcraft shrines was in "times the influx of foreign ideas was particularly strong and the country had something of an economic boom." Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 107.
[318] Osei-Agyemang records that they are the result of the venereal diseases and other socio-economic problems that followed the First Word War, 1914-1918." Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 397.
[319] McCaskie shows that anti-witchcraft cults "are clearly the product of a social order under interrogation by its members." McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 134.
[320] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 70-75; Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement," 43-44; Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 397. McCaskie shows that at the earliest years of colonial rule many Asante thought of "dissonant intimation of 'a world upside down." McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 134.

aspect. The shrines were substitutes for *abisa*, the old procedures of witch finding which had been suppressed by the colonial master.[321] As has been shown elsewhere in this chapter, the chiefs formerly controlled the movement of new *suman* or *abosom* and the procedures for finding witches.[322] Since the chief's power was weakened and the colonial masters did not have enough knowledge about the Akan system, people were bound to resort to these new shrines to redress their problems. Thus the proliferation of these cults can be linked with the disintegration of traditional institutions, especially the chieftaincy, by the colonial government, which resulted in the lack of control of new *suman* ("fetish"); any self-claimed *ɔkɔmfoɔ* could function without controls from traditional authorities. This assertion can be clarified by the activities of the shrines discussed below.

(ii) Activities of the anti-witchcraft shrines

The shrines could be consulted for prognostication (*abisa*); and as Debrunner puts it, "they claim to provide answers to new needs"and cure social disturbances.[323] The records show that witch hunting was the focus of all their functions. For example, Osei-Agyeman states that "since witches are thought to be the principal causes of illness and of all kinds of misfortunes, the anti-witchcraft shrines hunted them in an attempt to eliminate witchcraft from society."[324] Consequently, the term "*abiyi-yie*" was coined to

[321] To some extent Goody's research gives a hint about this assertion. Although he does not cite the *ɔdomankoma* movement, he argues that the shrines go back to pre-colonial period; the spread may be due to the availability of money for religious activities. Goody, "Anomie in Ashanti," 361.
[322] For instance, the *ɔdomankoma* movement, which was a corroboration of the priests of the Asante gods who were believed to deal with witchcraft but hampered social progress, was suppressed by Asantehene Mensa Bonsu.
[323] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 106.
[324] Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 399.

connote this process of witch finding.[325] According to Debrunner, when people are accused of witchcraft, everything would be done to get them to accept the charge of witchcraft and confess their sins; and that even the models of the shrines as well as the paraphernalia of the "exorcists" were sufficient to make them accept witchcraft possession.[326] Field reveals that sometimes people went before shrines themselves and confessed to witchcraft.[327]

The methods of witch finding, *abayi-yie*, varied from shrine to shrine. The two main methods were the "dancing" and the "drinking of medicine." With the "dancing" method, the chief of a town would summon his subjects before anti-witchcraft *kɔmfoɔ*. Dancing with the "shrine on the head,"[328] the person the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* collided with was pronounced a witch.[329] Collided persons who challenged the decision of the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* were subjected to the "drinking of medicine" method. This involved the drinking of *dudo* (decoction) that had been made from the shrine or the chewing of a kola nut. Falling sick or dead meant the culprit was guilty.[330] It was reported that many people

[325] One Addo sent a letter of dissatisfaction to the District Commission of Mpreaso that "the form of *abayi-yie*" which a medicine man goes forward to arrest a suspected person himself was bad (Addo, "*Abayi-Yie*"). The term "*abayi-yie"* could also be understood as exorcism of witchcraft (see Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 399). But its use here and its appearance in another document, which the colonial Acting Provisional Commissioner of Koforidua wrote on 12 July, 1930, to the Mpraeso District commissioner depicts that the term was used to refer to witch finding activities. In this document the commissioner wrote that "from the perusal of Gazette no. 36 of 1906, it would be seen that the practice of witches under the custom known as "Yi-"abayi or by whatever other name it is known has been prohibited." Ghana National Archives, Koforidua, "Suhum Fetish," July, 12, 1930: Adm/KD.29/6/69. Commenting on the "suppression of *yi abayi*" Professor Assimeng also translated the word as "witch cleansing." This is quite ambiguous, since the context in which the term was used was referring to witch finding activities that had been suppressed by the government. Assimeng, *Religion and Social Change*, 176.
[326] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 123.
[327] Field, *Search for Security*, 158-60, 170- 180.
[328] That is an effigy representing the shrine.
[329] Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 399.
[330] The innocent person was the one who never had any reaction from the drinking.

died after drinking such medicines.[331] People who confessed their sins, without being subjected to the "drinking of medicine," were requested to pay their service fees, usually these involved giving one or two sheep to the shrine or an equivalent in local currency.[332]

After this followed exorcism. Exorcism varied from shrine to shrine. The general procedure of exorcism included confession of sins, singing of witch-songs, revealing the names of *ahomoa* (witch-spirit animals), submission of *bayikukuo* (witchcraft substances) for destruction and the main ritual which was sometimes followed by a specific command of *yeyi wo bayie* ("we take out your witchcraft").[333] After this, the person was said to have been delivered from witchcraft. The distinguishing difference between the "exorcisms" of these shrines and those of the *aman-abosom* was the command to "take away" *bayie*. With the *aman-abosom* the *bayie* was "minimised." Perhaps it was the claim to "take away" *bayie* that attracted many adherents to these shrines.

[331] Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 409; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 126; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 140.
[332] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 126.
[333] After the confession of sins and depending upon the demand of the anti-witchcraft shrine's god, sometimes an egg was broken over the head of the witch after confession; then the witch was sprinkled three times with decocted water. In some places red clay was mixed with water. Then the priest dipped the broom into the liquid and gently struck the top of the victim's head three times saying, *yeyi wo bayie* ("we take out your witchcraft"). In the same way, the face and the joints of such victims are struck thrice daily for either three or seven days. Then the victim was asked to stand facing the town and the spokesman for the priest pushed the victim to go home without looking behind. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 126-27; Opoku Onyinah, "An Examination of Akan Witchcraft with Reference to the Supernatural Aspect of Evil in the Gospels, Dilating Specially on Demon Possession and Exorcism," MTh. Diss. Regents Theological College, 1998), 28-29.

(iii) The Anti-Witchcraft Shrines and Politics

Although Ward feels that political consciousness led to the rise of these cults,[334] with the possible exception of Abirewa, which was said to have "political implication hostile to the colonial Government,"[335] there is no record about their involvement in politics. Nonetheless, they became rival courts to those of the chiefs, as by dealing with witchcraft cases they dealt with, fined and passed judgement on adultery, theft and other forms of crime which previously had been in the province of the chiefs' courts.[336] Sometimes the properties of people who were found guilty were confiscated.[337] Consequently, some chiefs denounced the priests to the colonial government.[338] The procedures of witch finding and the tortures that followed had already caught the attention of the colonial government.[339] It was suspected that some priests poisoned those who challenged them through the addition of crocodile bile to the kola nut they chewed or medicine they drank.[340] Debrunner feels that some irresponsible priests could behave this way, however, he was inclined to think that "the priests rarely use actual poison but rather act through fear."[341] Thus here Debrunner mainly recognises the psychological role that the work of the priest plays, yet the evidence shows that in some cases there were connections between the sustenance of power and the use of

[334] Ward, "Religious Cults in Ashanti," 47, 51.
[335] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 131.
[336] Generally devotees of *abosom* must promise to keep some commandments, including not stealing, not coveting a neighbour's wife and not bearing false witness against a neighbour. If any devotee broke the promise of the shrine, he/she was required to make full confession and pay the necessary fee in order to be cleansed, else the deity would "catch" and even kill the person. For further reading concerning the commandments, see Kofi Abrefa Busia, *A Report on a Social Survey of Secondi-Takoradi* (London: The Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1950), 80; Acquah, *Accra Survey*, 143; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 121.
[337] McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 140 cf; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 126.
[338] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 130; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 140.
[339] For example, Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 131; Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 408-09; Ghana National Achieves, Koforidua, May, 12, 1945: Adm/KD.29/6/106.
[340] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 123.

poisoning.[342] The fining of the guilty ones, cost of medications and in some cases confiscation also meant the gain of riches. Almost all the scholars who have written about shrines remarked about the gain of wealth that accompanied their operations.[343] Thus just like the *ɔdomankoma* cult there was a link between the sustenance of power and the amassing of wealth.

The government kept a strict watch on the shrines and opened its doors for confidential reports from the Provincial and District commissioners,[344] missionaries,[345] chiefs and some educated individuals.[346] Many shrines were closed down as reports came in.[347] Eventually all anti-witchcraft activities were suppressed at least publicly. [348] Looked at from this angle, some scholars, including McLeod, Li and Osei-Agyemang, argue that

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[341] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 124.

[342] Manhyia Record Office, Kumasi, "The Suppression of Fetishes": D77; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 140. McCaskie quotes Asare who wrote that in extreme cases, "the fetishman poisons the rich man." During my fieldwork an ex-traditional priest told me of how her former colleagues attempted to kill her through poisoning. Gyau-Agyemang, Interview.

[343] For example, see Field, *Search for Security*, 111-12; Ward, "Religious Cults in Ashanti," 58; Goody, "Anomie in Ashanti," 361; McLeod, "Anti-Witchcraft Cults," 115; McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult," 140; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 126; Li, "Abirewa," 45; Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 404.

[344] In Kumasi the Chief Commissioner wrote a letter to the District Commissioner at Bekwai that "we cannot entirely suppress the fetishes, but if they are used for illegal purposes, they must be prosecuted with vigour." Ghana National Archives, "Tigare Fetish."

[345] Although this took place outside the Akan area, it can be linked with our purpose. The District Commissioner for Keta wrote that "on several occasions he received complaints from the Catholic priest of orgies and even wholesale slaughter in connection with Kunde fetish." Kunde or Brekunde was imported from Asakraka-Kwawu (Akan area) to Keta. Ghana National Achieves, Koforidua, "Kunde or Brekune Fetish - Asakraka," March 27, 1934: Adm/KD.29/6/69. See also Christian Council of the Gold Coast, "Tigare," 1-7.

[346] According Osei-Agyeman one police officer wrote that "personally I think stupidity or ignorance is driving thousands of people to Nkwantanang daily to waste money which could otherwise have been profitably used, therefore, the fetish must be prohibited." Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 410.

[347] For example, see Manhyia Record Office, "The Suppression of Fetishes"; Ghana National Achieves, "Kunde or Brekune Fetish - Asakraka"; Ghana National Achieves, Koforidua, "Witchcraft ," May 30, 1934: D425.

[348] For a detailed reading of the government's order, see Assimeng who reproduces the Order-in-Council No. 28. The main issue was the complete banning of witch finding activities. Assimeng, *Religion and Social Change*, 172.

the government was urged by these personalities[349] to suppress the shrines.[350] Debrunner is ambivalent about the issue. On the one hand, he feels that the government was justified in suppressing and closing down some of the shrines, "since by their very popularity and stress on old customs they were opposed to progress and interests of the Government."[351] On the other hand, he pays tributes to Rattray whose research caused the government to refrain "in recent years from such drastic measures."[352]

Further inquiry into the issue reveals that, though some chiefs and Christians might have opposed the shrines, the government conducted a thorough investigation and was hesitant in closing down any shrine.[353] It would seem that the government was aware of the role the shrines were playing in the communities by dispersing the fears of the Akan who were gripped by the alleged malicious deeds of witches, yet the reports it received on witch-hunting, torturing and, in some cases, poisoning of witches were so compelling that suppression was inevitable. Similar reports, coupled with an abortive coup d'état, had compelled Asantehene Mensa Bonsu to suppress the *ɔdomankoma* movement. From this perspective, then, it would seem that although anti-witchcraft shrines appear to dissolve people's fears through their witch-hunting activities, yet by so doing they seemed to have created more problems than they intended to solve.

[349] As mentioned already, these are the Provincial and District commissioners, missionaries, chiefs and some educated individual persons.
[350] McLeod, "Anti-Witchcraft Cults," 109; Li, "Abirewa: Gold Coast Religious Movement," 35; Osei-Agyeman, "Art and Mystical," 417-18.
[351] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 131.
[352] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 131.
[353] For instance, the Chief Commissioner of Kumasi sympathetically wrote that the continued activity of the anti-witchcraft shrines was the result of a popular demand. His fear was that if they were suppressed he was "certain that everyone is amenable to the penalty under Order No 12 of 1934… then those Ashanti who still follow their religion and form a vast majority of the total population, will be robbed of their only

Suppression therefore might have been used reluctantly by the authorities as a last resort.

Such a conclusion calls for the discussion of the various explanations offered on the Akan spirit entities and witchcraft.

4 MEANINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

4.1 Meanings of Spirit Entities

Inquiry into the different entities to which evil is attributed brings into view what the Akan consider to be life-threatening forces. What Kalu says of the logic of Igbo covenant making[354] and Meyer observes about the images of evil among the Ewe of Ghana,[355] can be postulated for the Akan understanding of evil. These life-threatening forces can be considered as representations of particular fears that in turn are centred around Akan cultural hermeneutics.

The *abosom*, for example, could be consulted for protection against calamities, to ascertain the underlying causes of disasters or affliction, to know the outcome of certain enterprises one wants to undertake, or to invoke their vengeance and wrath upon such people as have offended a person in any way. However, they were understood to be unpredictable and vengeful.[356] The *akɔmfoɔ*, the mediators for *abosom* are also

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available means of counteracting and combating those forces they most fear." Ghana National Achieves, "Tigare Fetish." See also Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 131.

[354] Kalu sees life-threatening forces as the motivations for the Igbo's covenanting with deities, Kalu, *The Embattled God*, 29-49.

[355] Meyer shows that "Ewe ethics can be glimpsed through the analysis of these particular images of evil." Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 88.

[356] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 119.

supposed to be the mouthpiece of the ancestors, making their wishes known to the chiefs, and as such to the living, and prescribing the right rituals to be done to pacify them if need be. Moreover, they are held to be able to foretell the future, to prevent evil and to provide the antidote against witchcraft, sicknesses and bad luck. However, their prognostications are often deliberately ambiguous. Thus although sometimes their prognostications may go some way toward dissolving some fears and problems, the expectation that the *abosom* through the *akɔmfoɔ* may be helpful in times of perplexities is often mollified by the *akɔmfoɔ* calculatedly giving deceitful prescriptions.

The *sasabonsam* was profoundly anti-human. When the *abosom* decline to control their assistants by directing *sasabonsam*, it (*sasabonsam*) reveals its underlying antipathy towards society by encouraging and fostering witchcraft. The *mmoatia* represent unpredictability, mockery and trickery. Flight away from them in the forest perversely might lead to a sudden encounter with them. Then the *mmoatia* might choose either to assist or to attack.[357] Therefore, just like other Africans, as has been observed by Anderson among the black South Africans, "one continually has a sense of helplessness and weakness,"[358] and Kalu among the Igbo of Nigeria, "the most important spiritual endeavour is to acquire extra power for the enhancement of life force."[359] Thus the Akan continue to come under the tutelage and the protection of the spirit forces (e.g. *abosom* and *asuman*). Despite this alliance with the spirit forces, security is not always assured, since it is thought that all the spirit forces can associate with witches in their

[357] McCaskie, *State and Society*, 119.
[358] Allan Anderson, H., *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1991), 67.
[359] Kalu, *The Embattled God*, 38.

operations. Rattray,[360] Christaller,[361] Fink[362] and Bannerman-Richter[363] were all informed in different areas about these alleged evil forces' confederation with the witches in their activities. How then is witchcraft, the major instrument that threatens life, understood?

4.2 Interpretations of Witchcraft

Following Evans-Pritchard's research into witchcraft among the Azande of Congo and his advancement of the misfortune theory,[364] the African phenomena of witchcraft have become prominent on the agenda of anthropologists.[365] A brief review of the literature is given here.[366] The purpose is to search for interpretations offered on witchcraft and find their strengths and weaknesses, in order to suggest some contributing interpretations.

4.2.1 Misfortune

Evans-Pritchard clearly set his goals as those of ascertaining the ideational structure of Zande beliefs, the "motive of Zande behaviour," and "their notions of reality."[367] Thus his principal concern is the logic of Zande witchcraft. He realises that the Zande seek to understand why specific mishaps occur to particular persons and not to others and at

[360] Rattray, *Religion and Art*, 28.
[361] Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*, 429.
[362] Fink, *Religion, Disease*, 183.
[363] Bannerman-Richter, *Practice of Witchcraft*, 61.
[364] E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937).
[365] Opoku Onyinah, "Exorcism as a Way of Confronting Witchcraft in Modern Africa: Ghana as a Case History." *Paper Presented to the Themes in Modern History Seminar at Harris Manchester College, the University of Oxford*, Oxford, April 30 2001.
[366] Since a detailed review of these materials have been done elsewhere, I find it not necessary to repeat it. Onyinah, "An Examination of Akan Witchcraft," 35-50.
[367] Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft*, 4.

particular places and times.[368] Although Evans-Pritchard does not use any explicit theory, by presenting witchcraft as a principle of causation underlying witchcraft beliefs he had implicitly provided the misfortune or the explanation theory.[369] McLeod, Sarpong and Akrong, following Evans-Pritchard, see the Akan principle of causation as a kind of interpretative scheme for the interpretation of Akan witchcraft.[370] Apparently, the female predominance among the alleged witches has some correlation with the fact that a great deal of the misfortune which has to be explained away, such as barrenness, miscarriage, still birth and infant mortality, are typically female disorders. Viewed in this way, witchcraft as a principle of interpreting human misfortunes provides a considerable insight in understanding Akan witchcraft beliefs. However, as Kennedy's rightly point out, "with its exclusive focus on the cognitive, and lack of explicit theory, it is only a beginning."[371]

[368] Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft*, 25, 63-108, 107, 114, 118.
[369] Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft*, 63. See also Marwick who presents a chapter in the treatment of this theory. Marwick, *Sorcery in Its Social Setting*, 247-58; Max Gluckman, *Customs and Conflicts in Africa* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), 84.
[370] McLeod, "Literature on Witchcraft in Ghana," After his survey of literature on witchcraft in Ghana, McLeod concludes that "it is therefore clear that witchcraft serves to explain why certain disasters occur…. The Ashanti witch is the one in which the Ashanti seek to comprehend the events which befall them." 296. For Sarpong, "witchcraft explains happenings that are beyond human experience." Sarpong, *Ghana in Retrospect*, 49. Akrong obverses that , "the metaphysical structure of traditional African principles of causality, makes it very easy for people to attribute everything evil to witchcraft, and thus build a kind of interpretative scheme for the interpretation of misfortune." Akrong, "Researching the Phenomenon of Witchcraft, 45.
[371] Kennedy, "Psychology and Sociological," 224.

4.2.2 Social Structure[372]

The works of Clyde Kluckhohn, J. Clyde Mitchell, Middleton and Winter, Max Marwick, Mary Douglas and Esther Goody, for example, theorised the function of witchcraft as a release of tension within certain types of African social structure.[373] Douglas, for instance, argues that "where social interaction is intense and ill defined, we may expect to find witchcraft belief."[374] The contributions which these studies offer to the understanding of Evans-Pritchard's work is that the meaning which the Africans read into misfortunes derives from some concealed pressures, which they undergo in the positions they occupy in the social structure.[375] Ward, McLeod, Bleek and Fortes' research among the Akan reveal that the extended family system and the intensity of social contacts that follow create tensions and envy, which give rise to witchcraft accusations.[376] Nevertheless, the weakness of this theory is the assertion that "… where

[372] Note Macfarlane discusses "the function of witchcraft as release of tension" as one theory and "witchcraft and the social structure" as another. However, the works of, for example, Mary Douglas, Monica Wilson and Max Marwick discuss the "two theories" under one category, since for them tension arises out of the unstructured areas of society. Basically the two are almost the same. The nuance is that while the former is concerned about individual tension, the second is concentrated on how witchcraft accusation is related to the whole social structure. Despite this nuance, here the two are discussed together. See Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), 244-48; Mary Douglas, "Witch Beliefs in Central Africa," *Africa* xxxvii, no. 1 (1967): 72-80; Max G. Marwick, "Witchcraft as a Social-Gauge," in *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, Max G. Marwick, ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1982), 300-13; Monica Hunter Wilson, "Witch Beliefs and Social Structure," in *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, 276-85.

[373] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944), 67-68; J. Clyde Mitchell, *The Yao Village: A Study in the Social Structure a Nyanssaland Tribe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), 201; Middleton and Winter, *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa*, 13, Marwick, *Sorcery in Its Social Setting*, 101; Mary Douglas, "Introduction: Thirty Years After Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic," in *Witchcraft Confession and Accusations*, Mary Douglas, ed. (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd, 1970), xviii. See also Douglas, "Witch Beliefs in Central Africa," 72-80; Esther Goody, "Legitimate and Illegitimate Aggression in a West African State," in *Witchcraft Confession and Accusations*, 207-44. Goody's work is about the Gonja people of Northern Ghana.

[374] Douglas, "Introduction," xxxv.

[375] Cf. J. Clyde Mitchell, "The Meaning in Misfortunes for Urban Africans," in *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, 381.

[376] Ward, "Religious Cults in Ashanti," 56; McLeod, "Anti-Witchcraft Cults," 112; McLeod, "Literature on Witchcraft in Ghana," 296. Bleek, *Marriage, Inheritance and Witchcraft*, 362; Meyer Fortes and Germaine Dieterlen, *African Systems of Thought: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Third*

roles are very fully ascribed, we would not expect to find witchcraft beliefs."[377] Among Akan societies witchcraft belief still continues to persist in areas where roles are well defined.[378] Again, there is enough evidence to show that witchcraft accusations continue among the Akan when they travel outside their towns and countries and have less frequent contacts with their relatives.[379] Thus while social structure theory partly interprets Akan witchcraft accusation, it cannot satisfactorily explain the whole concept.

4.2.3 Social Instability

The studies of S. F. Nadel, Marwick, Max Gluckman and Harriet Hill,[380] demonstrate that witchcraft belief is the outcome of social instability, such as famine, rapid change, oppression and economic distress. Debrunner's sociological approach to witchcraft in Ghana followed this line of interpretation. He contends that Akan witchcraft was a neurotic mechanism to counteract the conflict between British and Ghanaian value pressures that were inevitable when Britain colonised Ghana.[381] Debrunner adduces

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International African Seminar in Salisbury, December 1960 (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 25.

[377] Douglas, "Introduction," xxxv.

[378] Rattray observes that there is a well-defined and judicial way of settling conflicts within the Akan society, and roles are well defined in the system. Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, 1-8. This does not mean that there are not loopholes in the system. What it intends to convey is that social structure is not the only major contributing factor to the belief.

[379] It is believed that if a person is repatriated from an overseas country without a visa it is witchcraft; if the person is successful while she/he stays outside the country, the reasons are twofold: either he has run away from the witches or the witches have made him prosperous. For example, see, Ahenkorah, Interview by Author; Agyaku, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Bechema Sefwi, July 19, 1999. Cf. Bleek, *Marriage, Inheritance and Witchcraft*, 362; Amuzu, "Witchcraft," 4.

[380] S. F. Nadel, *Witchcraft in Four African Societies: An Essay in Comparison*, 1952, 286; Marwick presents a chapter in the treatment of this theory. Marwick, *Sorcery in Its Social Setting*, 247-58; Gluckman, *Customs and Conflicts in Africa*, 101; Harriet Hill, "Witchcraft and the Gospel: Insights from Africa," *Missiology An International Review* XXIV, no. 3 (July 1996): 324-44. She observes that the experience of considerable dissonance that results from rapid change is one of the main causes for the belief in witchcraft among the Akan in Cote d'Ivoire (327).

[381] Debrunner specifically writes that "what has been said of Cewa witchcraft is therefore equally true of Akan witchcraft." Here, Debrunner was referring to Marwick who traces all witchcraft cases of Cewa, a Bantu tribe in South Africa, to "conflicts between European and Cewa value premises." Debrunner,

reasons for this stance. [382] Taking into consideration the period at which Debrunner made his research, his conclusion could be understood for the following reasons: (i) witchcraft and witch hunting feature less in the literature of Akan before colonisation[383] and (ii) almost all that he brings to light continue to re-surface under new guises. For instance, the Ghanaian sociologist, Assimeng, shows that the explanation of the continuing social, economic, and moral ills of Ghanaian society is still "sought in terms of *honhom fi*, an evil spirit [or witchcraft]…."[384] Assimeng, like Debrunner, identifies this situation as the problem of value confusion and identity crises.[385]

Nonetheless, for Debrunner to conclude that "what has been said of Cewa... is equally true of Akan witchcraft" is to reduce all Akan witchcraft beliefs to "conflicts between European and African value premises."[386] While social dislocation and changes resulting from European interaction led to "value pressures," it is inadequate to explain the increasing witchcraft beliefs merely as driven by "value pressures" brought by external factors, that is, European entry into Akan society. For example, the emergence

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Witchcraft in Ghana, 65-66, 75. Marwick says that "we may ultimately trace witchcraft cases described above to conflict between European and Cewa value premises—especially those regarding the nature of property ownership." Max G. Marwick, "The Social Context of Cewa Witch Beliefs," *Africa* XXII (1952): 129, 120-32.

[382] Firstly, he observes that the wave of anti-witchcraft shrines coincided with times during which the influx of foreign ideas was particularly strong and the country had something of an economic boom (Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 107). Secondly, he demonstrates that the Ghanaians' hope in education as a means to wealth and advancement in the world of European activities failed, since financial demands and dependence on young 'literates' increase as one's salary increases (ibid., 62,72). Thirdly, he reveals that the hopes placed in the cocoa industry, which rather resulted in debt and confusion caused by the advanced system in the financing of the cocoa industry, made people disillusioned (ibid., 70-71, 74-75).

[383] For example, books such those already mentioned in the thesis including, Dupuis, *Journal of Residence*; Bowdich, *An Essay on Superstitions*, Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking People*.

[384] Max J. Assimeng, *Salvation, Social Crisis and the Human Condition* (Accra: Ghana University Press, 1995), 33.

[385] Assimeng, *Salvation*, 33.

[386] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 75.

of *ɔdomankoma* and its anti-witchcraft practices took place before Britain colonised the Asante state. Consequently, Debrunner fails to consider critically the belief in witchcraft before Britain colonised Ghana. Again, he fails to consider critically people who seem medically sound and declare themselves, either secretly or openly, witches, and those who claim to have been delivered from witchcraft.[387] Therefore, although Debrunner identifies belief in witchcraft as a challenge facing the people in Ghana that needs to be dealt with, he does not practically respond to this challenge. Hence social instability, which Debrunner perceives in conflicts between British and Akan value premises, may intensify Akan witchcraft beliefs but need other interpretations to complement it.

4.2.4 Psychological Reactions

4.2.4.1 Mentally Afflicted with Obsessions

The other main work on witchcraft in Ghana beside Debrunner's is Margaret Field's case studies and analysis of so-called witches.[388] Before this major work, Field had already postulated that witches are mainly those "mentally afflicted with obsession."[389] Consequently, her basic thesis in her main work is that witchcraft is rooted in mental disorders, including hysteria, paranoia, depression and schizophrenia, of those suffering from ill health, misfortunes and inability to control their destinies.[390] This project was centred on the analysis of so-called witches at shrines to justify her interpretation. Field's interpretation helps to explain many of the assumptions in Akan witchcraft. For

[387] According to him, his research was conducted on interviews from his students, visits to shrines and Spiritual churches. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 2-3.
[388] Field, *Search for Security*.
[389] Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People*, 136, see also Field, *Search for Security*, 14.

instance, Debrunner remarks that most of the confessions he heard before anti-witchcraft shrines gave him the impression of people suffering mentally.[391] Again, Debrunner, Field and Parrinder show that the answer to the flying of witches lies in the understanding of dreams, since a dream of flying through the air may be interpreted by the dreamer as a sign of witchcraft possession.[392] Or hallucinations and disturbances of the thought-process (with full insight in a setting of clear consciousness and secondary anxiety and depression) may cause some people to think that they are witches.[393]

Consequently, this interpretation takes into consideration the conditions and the situations in life which people are either accused of witchcraft or made to confess to it. What it fails to consider critically, however, includes, as in the case of social instability analysis done by Debrunner, the accounts of people who seem medically sound and declare themselves, either secretly or openly, witches. In view of this weakness, the thesis pushes the psychological theory further by offering another possible interpretation.

4.2.4.2 Dissociative Explanation

Dissociation, altered personality or psychic explanation is proposed as a further contribution for understanding Akan witchcraft concepts. Jung demonstrated that there is something within a person (or a person's psyche) that can be projected outwardly.

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[390] Field, *Search for Security*, 13-14.
[391] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 78. The present writer has also heard many confessions at church prayer meetings, which give him similar impressions.
[392] Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 21-22; Field, *Search for Security*, 196, 265, 268-69; Parrinder, *West African Religion*, 169.

Through an analysis of the psyche, Freud attributes all sorts of mental disorders, such as hysteria and schizophrenia, to his theory of sexual repression.[394] While Jung accepts Freud's theory of a "repressed mechanism," he did not only prove to him that other factors, including the problem of social adaptation, of oppression by tragic circumstances of life and prestige considerations, stood in the foreground,[395] but he went beyond that. He demonstrated to him what he called "catalytic exteriorisation phenomenon," which could be understood as the outward projection of mental processes.[396] Inference from this and other of Jung's writings[397] indicate that for him the psychic world appears real,[398] and it is possible to experience it through dissociation. According to Jung many of his writings stemmed from this psychic dissociation, which he realised was a phenomenon encountered quite frequently among "primitive" people.[399]

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[393] Hallucinations caused by schizophrenia, but not those induced by drug (e.g. cocaine) either for pleasure or for psychiatric purpose. Field, *Search for Security*, 315, 335; cf. M. S Rawlings, *To Hell and Back* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Inc. Publishers, 1993), 124; Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 187.

[394] He divides the "mental processes" into two main components, "the ego" or "the conscious" and "the id" or "the unconscious." The "ego" represents the conception, which is present to our consciousness and of which we are aware. The "id" represents the conception that is active and unconscious at the same time, this is often referred to as sub-conscious. It designates ideas keeping apart from consciousness in spite of their intensity and activity. This idea can be brought about through effort. It also represents conceptions of sexual instinct and aggressions that are repressed into unconscious state. Freud, *The Essential of Psychoanalysis*, 19, 137, 142, 167-74; Freud, *The Ego and the ID*, 28-29.

[395] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, 152.

[396] While discussing the issue, according to Jung, he had a curious sensation "like - as if his diaphragm were made of iron and were becoming red-hot, a growing vault"; then came a booming explosion in his bookcase. When Freud doubted this report Jung predicted that in a moment there would be another loud report. Sure enough, the same detonation went off in his bookcase. Freud was aghast at what happened. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, 152.

[397] For example see Carl Gustav Jung, *Four Archetypes: Mother, Rebirth, Spirit, Trickster*, 1972, trans. R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 9-14; Jung, *Dreams*, 23-66.

[398] Jung sees the psychic world as "the archetype of collective unconsciousness." This is the concept that "the myths and fairy tales of the world literature contains definite motifs which crop up everywhere." That "we meet these same motifs in the fantasies, dreams, deliria, and delusions of individuals living today." Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, 350, see also Jung, *Four Archetypes*, 3-5.

Beside Jung, some mediums and psychologists, such as Morse,[400] Flint[401] and Slate,[402] assert that psychic power emanates from within a person, and that it can be developed to cause either positive or negative things to happen which are not necessarily from a spirit. Similarly, a number of Christian writers including Nigel Wright,[403] Watchman Nee[404] and J. S. Wright[405] recognise the psychic energy in the human being. However they show that tampering with this power is dangerous. Moreover, some scientists such as Lombroso,[406] Wickland[407] and Field,[408] who have undertaken a thorough practical

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[399] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, 293-94, cf. E. Yamauchi, "Magic or Miracle," in *Gospel Perspective*, Vol. 6, D. Wenham and C. Blomberg, eds. (Trowbridge: JSOT Press, 1986), 149; Colin Wilson, *C. G. Jung: Lord of the Underworld* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1984), 74-75.

[400] Morse who was a medium himself says that "in an understanding of the latent powers of the mind and body, and brain and soul...[you can] carry a message from one locality to another, carry your goodwill or evil will to some person you love or dislike… that…[you] can produce a bodily form, as well as reveal the mysteries of passing from the mortal existence." He says that "all these things are possible and do occur…because every human being in the wide world over is built upon the same lines of general organisation, principle, and purpose." By this Morse could be understood to say that there is a latent power in the body and soul of every human being that can be developed to cause either positive or negative things to happen. J. J. Morse, *Practical Occultism* (London: Spiritualist Press, 1958), 11, 78.

[401] Leslie Flint concludes his story as a medium (which he feels is irresistible) that " the spiritual counterpart, astral body or ectoplasmic double" make communication possible while the physical still was unconscious and unaware. He even advised that in areas where weird noise and other frightening manifestations occurred, investigation could be conducted to find out whether there is a girl or boy at or near the age of puberty in the vicinity. That the youngest around whom the activity centres may be one of those people like himself with an overplus ectoplasmic power, but because of the young person's inexperience, entities from lower planes of the next world can use the potential mediumship to manifest in an irresponsible and mischievous way. He further said that on recognition of such powers within a person, such a person should be encouraged to develop it on the highest ethical and spiritual lines. Thus Flint sees that the spiritual part of people can communicate while the body is unconscious. But he thinks that this sort of overplus of ectoplasmic power is limited to people who are born with it. Leslie Flint, *Voices in the Dark* (London: Macmillan London Ltd., 1971), 216.

[402] Dr. Slate, an American, claims that he pioneered an academic research on altered states and psychic processes. He refers to the out-of-body experience as "soul travel, in which the soul imbued with consciousness leaves the physical body and travels to distant realities, including higher spiritual dimensions as sources of new insight and power." He feels that Paul referred to this experience in 2 Cor. 12:2-3, "I know a man in Christ who in four years ago was caught up to the third heaven. Whether it was the body or out of the body I do not know…." Joe H. Slate, *Astral Projection and Psychic Empowerment: Techniques for Mastering the Out-of-Body Experience* (St Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1998), 3, see also back page.

[403] Nigel G. Wright, *The Satan Syndrome* (London: Academie Books, 1990), 119-21.

[404] Watchman Nee, *The Latent Power of the Soul* (New York: Christian Fellowship Publishers, Inc., 1972), 38-39. The book discusses the whole area of psychic power in humans.

[405] J. S. Wright, *Christianity and the Occult* (London: Scripture Union, 1972), 55-83.

[406] Wilson records the accounts of Professor Cesare Lombroso, the Jewish Italian, who as a professor of Psychiatry at Pavia decided to set out to try and prove that insanity was a purely physical illness. In the final analysis, in 1882, Professor Lombroso accepted the fact that certain people who possess peculiar

research on insane people, have concluded that people with extraordinary powers usually have nervous breakdowns.

On account of all this evidence, it will be postulated that some assumptions in Akan witchcraft may be real life experiences; these necessarily include the out-of-body experiences claimed by self-claimed witches. From this perspective, then, Akan witchcraft is similar to what Jung called the "catalytic exteriorisation phenomenon," by which he meant the projection of the mind or "the unconscious" into the objectively real world.[409] For the mediums, Akan witchcraft is similar to psychic power or astral projection, which emanates from within the psyche of the human being. From the scientists' perspective, Akan witchcraft amounts to a nervous disorder, as a result of the overuse of extraordinary power or the energy within a person. The "real" witch in Akan then can be described as the person who is willingly able to project the mind or experience dissociation with the aim to either induce something good or evil. [410]

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power seem nervously unstable, and that this can be found in those who are, for example, hysterical; and that stimulation of certain centres in them can finally produce psychical power. Colin Wilson, *The Giant Book of the Supernatural: Unlock the Earth's Hidden Mysteries*, 1991, Second Edition (London: Magpie Books Ltd., 1994), 199-221.

[407] Carl Wickland was a medical doctor in Los Angeles. In his book *Thirty years among the Dead*, which was originally published in 1924, he reports of his thirty years research on what he calls "the science of normal and abnormal psychology." He was greatly assisted by his wife who was a medium. He argues that a great deal of mental illness, crimes, or "suicides are due to the obsessing or possessing influence of earthbound [wandering] spirits." 132, 116. Carl A. Wickland, *Thirty Years Among the Dead*, 1924, 1971 Edition (London: Spiritualist Press, 1971), 132.

[408] Field concludes, "I do not think there is any direct connection between schizophrenia and dissociation, but neither are they mutually exclusive…." Field, *Search for Security*, 63.

[409] The Akan may consider Jung as a classic example of a witch.

[410] The discussions so far in the thesis make this assertion clearer. For example: (i) The Akan's understanding of the *ɔkra* (soul), through which they believe witchcraft operates is similar to what Jung calls "the unconscious" (and what Freud calls the "id"); that which according to Jung could be projected outwardly. (ii) Akan belief that witches often become insane is in a way reflected in Lombroso's findings. (iii) Akan belief that witchcraft is inherited or given by God, and that it can either be used for good or evil

The implication for this contributing interpretation is that no one interpretation can effectively be used to explain the Akan concept of witchcraft. Bringing together all those interpretations provided helps to understand the ways in which witchcraft beliefs underlie the Pentecostal concept of exorcism, and find out the effective ways of dealing with it.[411]

5 THE CRUX OF THE MATTER: *ABISA*

The foregoing discussions lead us to a general analysis of what is believed to be an issue that has not been taken very seriously by scholars of Akan traditional religion,[412] and that which deserves intensive investigation. The issue is that the focus of religious activities among the Akan is *abisa*, divinatory consultation or the desire to know the supernatural causalities of affairs.[413]

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purposes, is similar to the medium's claim that psychic power emanates from within a person and can be used either for good or bad purposes.

[411] For example: (i) Social structure may fractionally explain why the Akan accuse others of witchcraft.(ii) Social instability such as famine, rapid change, oppression and economic distress, which Debrunner sees as conflicts between European and African value premises, may intensify the Akan witchcraft beliefs. (iii) The unresolved mystery of misfortune as well as mistaking sufferers of mental disorders for witches cause the Akan to speculate about witchcraft.

[412] The attention of African theologians, anthropologists and sociologists, as has been currently observed by Bediako and Assimeng, has been directed to the pursuit of issues concerning the Supreme Being, the lesser gods, their attributes, ancestors, the destinies of men and the African Initiated Churches. For instance, it is often asserted that the religious activities of Africans are directed ultimately to God through the intermediary spirits according to their needs. Assimeng, *Religion and Social Change*, 60; Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*.

[413] Divination-consultation is also prominent in other parts of Africa and elsewhere. For example, see the 1996 *Journal of Religion in Africa Volume XXVI issue 1* which was devoted to divination in Africa. Wim Van Binsbergen, "Regional and Historical Conceptions of Four-Tablet Divination in South Africa," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVI, no. 1 (1996): 2-29; Rosalind Shaw, "The Politician and the Diviner: Divination and the Consumption of Power in Sierra Leone," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVI, no. 1 (1996): 30-55; Mario I. Aguilar, "The Eagle as Messenger, Pilgrim and Voice: Divinatory Processes Among the Waso Boorana of Kenya," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVI, no. 1 (1996): 57-72. See also Filip De Boeck and René Devisch, "Ndembu, Luunda and Yaka Divination Compared: From Representation and Social Engineering to Embodiment and Worldmaking," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXIV, no. 2 (1994): 98-131; Philip M. Peek, ed., *African Divination Systems: Ways of Knowing* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Turner, *Revelation and Divination*.

A number of issues raised in the thesis make this hypothesis intelligible. For example, it has been shown that *abisa* (divination) was that which Asante resorted to in keeping with their concept of the withdrawal of God from his world. The queen mother's role as the chief's adviser is also based on her ability to divine and counsel. One's destiny can be known and may be altered through *abisa*. Further, the origin of *abosomsom* is related to a person who began to give prognostications of events. Again, *abisa* is the central activity of the work of *ɑkɔmfoɔ*, the principal figure in *abosomsom* (the worship of the gods). *Abisa* is that which made the anti-witchcraft shrines popular. From Akan philosophical thinking, as it has been shown, success, health and prosperity are the norms of Akan life. Consequently, if things are not going on as expected Akan resort to their religiosity, that is, to get a person or a being to divine and provide answers to problems, questions and perplexities of every-day experiences of life.

Assimeng comes close to this finding when he asserts that "the central focus of religious activity in Africa traditional society seems to be the warding off of what the Akan call *honhom fi* [evil spirit] from the affairs of men."[414] Thus, similar to Assimeng's proposition, this thesis has demonstrated that some emphasis is placed on the "exorcism" of witches and evil spirits.[415] The divergent assumption of this proposition to that of Assimeng, then, is the role *abisa* plays in the process. The Akan do not immediately resort to the warding off of evil spirits. People resort to warding off evil spirits after all initial attempts to find solutions fail, and they had found out through

[414] Assimeng, *Religion and Social Change*, 60.
[415] It will continue to show in later chapters that much emphasis is still being placed on exorcism.

abisa that their problems are of supernatural origin.[416] In most of the attempts to find solutions, *abisa*, though sometimes feared and mistrusted[417] is not left aside; it is hoped that it may help to lessen people's anxious irresolutions and the most profound questions of existence.

6 CONCLUSION

The chapter has given insight into Akan cosmological beliefs, beginning with the social beliefs. The chief was found to be the axis of Akan political, cultural and religious life. His office, as it was shown, was shared with the queen mother, whose important and efficient role as the chief's adviser generated the practice of *abisa* (consultation) in the Akan local court and the settlement of cases. The Akan concept of "humanity and personality" was presented as the psychological framework for Akan witchcraft beliefs.

It has also been shown that the Akan cosmos is filled with pantheons of spirit-forces beginning from the Supreme Being, *Onyankopong*. The others were *abosom* (the gods), *mmoatia* (fairies) *sasabonsam* (the forest monster) and *sasa* (vindictive revengeful ghosts). While the *Onyankopong* is always kind, because of people's constant disturbances, he left the administration of the world to the hands of the *abosom* (gods). While the *abosom*, working through their *akɔmfoɔ,* could be helpful, they were generally considered unpredictable. They and the other spirits could team up with the

[416] For instance, if people felt sick they would use any of the local herbs which most adults are expected to know. If these and other attempts failed, then finally the *akɔmfoɔ* may be consulted at their shrines to find out the supernatural causes of diseases. Kofi Abrefa Busia, *The Challenge of Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), 13.

witches to attack people. Thus the principal evil was attributed to *abayifoɔ* (the witches).[418] Akan witchcraft was shown to be a complex issue, sometimes portrayed as material and other times immaterial, yet it impacted the whole society. The Akan concept of *bayie* was shown to be an inherent potency internalised in some human beings as part of their personality, the witches being those who were able to project their minds to effect something good or evil, although most of them use it for evil.

It was shown that, for the Akan, witchcraft could not completely be exorcised, rather it was minimised or the evil side of it was healed. Thus the anti-witchcraft shrines became popular because they claimed "to take away" or "uproot" witchcraft. The *ɔdomankoma* movement was presented as an example of a pre-colonial anti-witchcraft cult which attracted many adherents, but was suppressed by the Asantehene Mensa Bonsu, because of its "unhealthy" activities. This *ɔdomankoma* movement had many things in common with its broadly typological successors—the anti-witchcraft shrines. These included the emergence and growth of such cults as the result of a social order under investigation by its people and the accumulation of wealth. The rapid growth of these anti-witchcraft shrines in a disordered society was an indication that they were serving the needs of the people, specifically through the consultation days (*abisa da*). The suppression of the shrines by the colonial government also meant the blockage of the channels (*abisa*) through which the people could express their fears.

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[417] *Abisa* is sometimes fearing and mistrusting because the fate of the inquirer depends upon the prognostication of the *akɔmfoɔ*, which are often made calculatedly ambiguous. See sections 2.5 and 3.5.4.2 above.

After a survey of various interpretations given by some researchers into Akan witchcraft, a proposal was put forward that the dissociative experience claimed by some people could be a contributing theory in interpreting the Akan witchcraft presuppositions. Thus it was proposed from such a background that some assumptions made in Akan witchcraft could be derived from genuine experiences.

Abisa, the act of consultation to find out the supernatural causality of one's problem and knowing how to combat it, was put forward as the core of Akan religiosity. The ensuing chapters demonstrate that the Pentecostal concept of exorcism, though performed under the guise of Christian faith, is strongly based on the Akan cosmology, and that both the exorcists and their methods have *abisa* as their framework.

[418] Pobee, *Towards an African Theology*, 100.

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY AND EXORCISM IN GHANA

1 INTRODUCTION

Pastor James McKeown the founder of the Church of Pentecost once told Debrunner, "you other missionaries and your African pastors and collaborators labour and sweat with the school… neglecting evangelism—and thus we can harvest where you have sown."[1] Beside the fact that this is a true reflection of McKeown's philosophy of Mission, it shows that the ministry of CoP is a continuation of the other missionaries' activities in Ghana. From this perspective, this chapter looks at Christian activities in Ghana before the establishment of CoP and how CoP continues from there. As church historians have shown, an account of church history without getting behind the scene is incomplete,[2] therefore, a section is devoted to an investigation of the ideological background of missionaries and how these influenced their interpretation of Akan traditional practices. The appropriation of Christianity by the Akan is looked at. The purpose is to find out how deliverance from contamination by the traditional practices came about within Pentecostalism. This chapter also deals with how "prophetism" emerged out of Christianity and later gave birth to the Spiritual churches. Exorcism, which became a special feature within the Spiritual churches, will be analysed in detail, since currently there is no such systematic analysis. The ultimate purpose is to find out

[1] Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967), 325.

[2] U. Ogbu Kalu, "General Introduction: The Task," in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, U. Ogbu Kalu, ed. (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1980), 2-3; Richard Gray, "The Origins and Organisation of the Nineteeth-Century Missionary Movement," in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, 14-35; T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East Africa Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 14-30.

how this sort of exorcism relates to CoP's ministry of exorcism, which will be discussed in the next chapters. Finally, there is a brief historical background of CoP, setting down the framework for its exorcistic ministry. Special attention is given to James McKeown, as he led the church for forty-five years and most of the church's history centres around him.

2 A SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN ACTIVITIES IN GHANA

2.1 The Early Attempts

The first incontrovertible evidence of European presence in West Africa, specifically Ghana, dates from January 1471.[3] However, church historians, including Agbeti and Sanneh, attribute the first attempt to propagate the gospel in Ghana (at Elmina, an Akan town) to the Portuguese (Catholics), on 19 January 1482.[4] The Dutch (Catholics) were the next to follow in 1637.[5] There were also some Protestant attempts by the United

[3] Nana Kwabena Nketsia IV, "The Effect of Christian Missionary Activities on Some Akan Social Institutions from the Portuguese Settlement on the Mina Coast 1482-1916" (Ph. D. Diss., Lincoln College, Oxford, 1959), 1; Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1983), 21. Lamin Sanneh shows that the solitary, elusive reference to Christianity in West Africa before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1470s is forgery. He remarks that "most authorities dismiss that report as contradictory and worthless." Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 21; cf. See Jean Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea : The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, Vol. I*, 1732, P. E. H. Heir, Adam Jones and Robin Law, eds. Second Series, No 175 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1992); 20-23; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 7-8,13-14.

[4] This was a day after a Portuguese expedition of 600 men, under the command of Don Diogo d'Azambuja had landed at Elmina. J. Kofi Agbeti, *West Africa Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations 1482-1919* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 3; Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 21; see also Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 16.

[5] Peter Bernard Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity: A Study of Religious Development from the 15th to 20th Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), 19. The Gold Coast received its name from the Dutch. This suggestion was first made by Wiltgen, who differed from the then general opinion that the Gold Coast received it name from the Portuguese. He revealed that the name "Gold Coast" appeared in the title of a Dutch book printed as early as 1602. Moreover, he showed that during his research, nowhere in a Portuguese source did he find "the equivalent of 'Gold Coast,' but always 'a Mina[Elmina].'" Ralph M. Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History 1471-1880* (Techny: Divine Word Publication, 1956), 32-33; cf. W.

Brethren or Moravian Church of Denmark between 1735 and 1747 to propagate the gospel; their work was mainly centred in Accra.[6] According to some church historians, including Groves, Sanneh and Debrunner, what was close to the first effective missionary work began in 1735, in Cape Coast, by the Reverend Thomas Thompson of the Anglican Church. He was in the employ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,[7] but after four years of working Thompson had to go back due to ill health.[8] All these early mission attempts achieved very little, and were said to be unsuccessful at this stage.[9] An interlude of over 100 years followed and during this period it was said that other Europeans followed and scrambled for Ghana.[10]

E. F. Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1948), 81. Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea Vol. 1,* 20-23.

[6] Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 106-07; Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 23.

[7] Thompson's work was thought to have come close to success, because he concentrated his work on the local people rather than the Europeans or 'Euro – African' enclaves. He established a school for them, and urged the necessity of developing the Fanti language. Yet Thompson appeared to be a controversial figure, since he was reported to argue in favour of the slave trade, as late as 1772. C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa Volume One to 1840* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948), 175; Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 112; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 81.

[8] He left with three boys for England to further their education. Two of the boys died. The remaining one, Philip Quacoo, spent eleven years there and returned to Ghana in 1766 as an ordained Anglican Priest. Quacoo laboured for fifty years and baptised only fifty-two people. He devoted most of his time to teaching at schools and died in 1816. For further reading on Thompson and early Anglicanism in Ghana see, Thomas Thompson, *An Account of My Two Missionary Voyages by the Appointment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 1758 (London: SPCK, 1937); Agbeti, *West Africa Church History*, 8-9; Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 23-24, 58; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 60, 76-77; Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 108; Elisabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to Present* (London: SPCK, 1995), 59, 167.

[9] Among the many reasons cited by historians include the problem of climate, the high mortality rate, the lack of success in training indigenous workers, the association of Christianity with European politics, trade and culture, the slave trade, the scarcity of missionary personnel and the rivalry among the European nations themselves. Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 9, 25; Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 97; Peter Falk, *The Growth of the Church in Africa* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1979), 118.

[10] The Europeans who followed include the English, the Dutch, the French, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Brandenburghers. With the exception of the French, they all built forts along the coast for purposes of commerce. Significantly the Christiansborg Castle, which later became the Government seat of Ghana was built by the Danes in 1659. Carl Christian Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante: Based on Traditions and Historical Facts Comprising a Period of More Than Three Centuries from about 1500 to 1860*, 1889, Second Edition (Basel: Basel Missions Book Depot, 1889), 27; Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea Vol. 1,* 442-447; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 45.

2.2 The Missionary Enterprise

The nineteenth century saw the establishment of many missionary societies aiming to evangelise the world for Christ. Latourette calls this century the "Great Century" of world mission.[11] The Basel Evangelical Mission Society was the first to arrive in Accra, Ghana, in 1827. However, as a result of the high mortality rate, it was not until 1843 at Akropong (an Akan area) that their work began to take off under the leadership of Andreas Riis,[12] who was saved through the medication of ɔkɔmfoɔ (a traditional priest).[13] The Bremen mission from north Germany arrived in Ghana in 1847 under the leadership of Lawrence Wolfe, and stationed at Peki. They concentrated their work among the Ewe.[14] During the First World War, the Germans had to be withdrawn, and the Basel as well as the Bremen missions were handed over in 1914 to the United Free Church of Scotland.[15] The Wesleyan Methodist Society arrived in 1835.[16] Just like the Basel mission, they suffered a high mortality rate. However, Thomas Birch Freeman, who was of African origin,[17] and was the Superintendent of mission in the 1840s and 1850s, was able to establish central mission stations along the coast of Oguaa (Cape

[11] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 1939 (Grand Rapid: Zondervan Edition, 1976), 281.
[12] Noel Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana: 1835-1960* (Accra: Ghana University Press, 1966), 38-39; Hildebrandt, *History of the Church in Africa: A Survey* (Achimota-Accra: Africa Christian Press, 1981), 91.
[13] Sometimes this is nicely put down as a local herbalist. Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 29-30; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 167.
[14] Further reading of the work of Bremen Mission, see E. Grau, "Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions with the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana," in *Christianity in Tropical Africa: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Seventh International African Seminar, University of Ghana, April 1965*, Christian Goncalves Baëta, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 60-78; Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 116-19.
[15] Falk, *The Growth of the Church in Africa*, 329; Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 144-47.
[16] F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 12-13; S. K. Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in the Ghana's Development (1820-1880)* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1978), 39.

Coast), Accra and other cities including Kumasi, the capital of Asante.[18] Freeman also attempted to establish Christianity firmly in Nigeria. However, as Ajayi, a Nigerian church historian has shown, with the material at his disposal, Freeman would have done better to concentrate on a more limited area.[19] After a period of unsuccessful attempts by the Catholics to establish their work in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they renewed the attempt in 1880 and this time were successful.[20]

By 1937, at the time when CoP was established, Christianity had spread considerably in Ghana. Statistics taken in 1934 show the estimated strength of the mainline churches as follows: Anglican 24,000; Wesleyans 125,225; Presbyterians 58,454; Evangelical Presbyterian 27,000 and Roman Catholics 167,000.[21] Furthermore, Christianity had also contributed immensely to the advancement of Ghanaian society. The major contributions included the establishment of schools, the introduction of western medical systems and social advancement of Ghanaian society, such as the abolition of capital punishment and slavery. In addition, the missionaries were responsible for promoting

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[17] He was of an English mother and an African father. He was the first Methodist missionary to survive long enough to consolidate the work. Bengt Sundkler & Christopher Steed, eds. *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 203.

[18] For further reading, see Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 207; Arthur E. Southon, *Gold Coast Methodism: The First Hundred Years* (Accra: Methodist Book Depot, 1934).

[19] J. F. A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (London: Longmans, 1965), 91.

[20] For further reading on Catholic missions, see Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 219-22.

[21] Quoted in Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 207. Comparing this with another statistic recorded by Herman in 1931, shown below, is remarkable: Church of England 18,000; Wesleyans 99, 207; Presbyterians 64,804 (he seemed to have combined both Presbyterian churches, Bremen and Basel) and Roman Catholics 85,081. Thus within three years the Roman Catholic had increased over 90%. H. A. Herman, "The Gold Coast, 1931," *Africa* Vol. VII, no. 1 (1934): 66.

translation, including creation of vernacular alphabets and production of grammars and dictionaries.[22]

Despite these aforementioned advancements, the type of Christianity contained in the missionary enterprise left a legacy in Ghana which Forson calls "Split-Level Christianity."[23] This is the coexistence of both traditional beliefs, though considered totally evil, and Christian beliefs within the same person that often lead to a conflict either consciously or unconsciously within the individual.[24] If the two had blended into a harmonious unit, there might not have been problems. However, this is not the case, rather the awareness of traditional beliefs and practices in these Christian lives often leave them terribly depressed[25] and in such a depressed condition some people subject themselves to the Pentecostal exorcists for deliverance.

This should not have been the case. As Kraft has said, "conversion can and should take place within and in terms appropriate to the culture of the receptors… this is usually

[22] For example, Johann Gottlieb Christaller translated the Bible into Twi (Akan) language, wrote a Twi dictionary, wrote Bible history and hymns, before his departure in 1868. By 1866, Johann Zimmermann had produced a Ga grammar, a dictionary and the entire Bible. Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 110; Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 59. For further reading regarding the achievements of missions in Ghana, in addition to sources cited already, see also Emmanuel Kenneth Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana with Particular Reference to Developments in Axim" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Exeter, 1983), 47-48; Lamin Sanneh, "New and Old in Africa's Religious Heritage: Islam, Christianity and the African Encounter," in *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W. Turner*, Andrews F. Walls and Wilbert R. Shenk, eds. (Elkhart: Mission Focus, 1990), 6

[23] Mathias Kwasi Forson, "Split-Level Christianity in Africa: A Study of the Persistence of Traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices Among the Akan" (Ph. D. Diss., E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1993), 4.

[24] Forson, "Split-Level Christianity," 4-5.

[25] This usually happens, when some Christians realise that, in time of difficulty, the missionary package of Christianity given to them could not help, and they had to run to *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priest) for help.

conditioned by the receptors' ability to relate the message to their felt needs."[26] Viewed from this perspective, there must be something wrong with either the way the Christian message was conveyed by the missionaries or the way the Akan appropriated it for themselves. From this backdrop, the Ghanaian theologian Browne doubts "whether [or not] the missionaries brought the pure gospel."[27] However, as Kalu has emphasised, "there is the tendency by some historians to enter into West African Church history by focusing on the activities in the mission fields to the utter neglect of the home base."[28] Thus, for us to understand the activities of the missionaries, before drawing some conclusions, there is the need to discuss the "home base" of missionaries.

2.3 Home Base: Origins and Ideological Base of Missionaries

Some church historians have shown that missionaries came to Africa and elsewhere not only with various Western cultural values but with an identifiable ideology characteristic of their age,[29] and that their attitudes and policies can best be explained by the situations at home.[30] The mission historian Fiedler has attempted to show that as

[26] Charles H. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Orbis: Maryknoll, 1979), 344.
[27] Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 47.
[28] Kalu, "The Task," 3. See also Ogbu U. Kalu, "Church Presence in Africa: A Historical Analysis of the Evangelization Process," in *African Theology En Route: Papers from the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians, December 17-23, 1977, Accra, Ghana*, John Appiah-Kubi & Sergio Torres, eds. (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979), 17.
[29] For example see, Kalu, "Church Presence in Africa," 3; Ngindu Mushete, "The History of Theology in Africa: From Polemics to Critical Irenics," in *African Theology En Route*, 24.
[30] For example, see Andrew F. Walls, "Missionary Vocation and the Ministry: The First Generation," in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, 22-35; Peter Bernard Clarke, "The Methods and Ideology of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Eastern Nigeria 1885-1905," in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, 36-62; F. F. A. Ajayi, "Henry Venn and the Policy of Development," in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, 63-64.

"pre-classical missions[31] go back to the pietistic/puritan revival," so the nineteenth century mission mindedness was born out of the "Second Great Awakening."[32] The implication of Fiedler's assertion is that the revivals, which broke out between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries,[33] all shaped the ideas and practices of the missionaries.[34] In all these aspects of Protestantism, the awareness of the devil and his works were significant. Thus, contrary to the belief that the Reformers had broken with the medieval tradition of diabology,[35] some scholars like Clark and Russell have shown that Protestantism emphasised the devil's powers even more than medieval Catholicism and saw him at work not only in witchcraft but also in popular religion in general.[36] These are illustrated in the lives of the major players of Protestantism such as Luther[37]

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[31] By pre-classical mission, Fiedler refers to all missionary enterprises before 1793. Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Mission: From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994), 13.

[32] Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Mission*, 112-13.

[33] These include, revivals led by John Wycliffe in fourteenth century; the Reformation led by Martin Luther in the sixteenth century; John Bunyan and the Pietist/Puritan Awakening in the seventeenth century; John Wesley and the first Great Awakening in eighteenth century; and the Second Great Awakening between 1800-1830. For such revivals see Heiko Augustine Oberman, *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986); Herbert Brook Workman, *The Dawn of the Reformation: The Age of Wyclif Vol. 1* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1901); Henry Abelove, *The Evangelist of Desire, John Wesley* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Christopher Hill, *A Turbulent Seditious, and Factious People: John Bunyan and His Church 1628-1688* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978); William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism: Or the Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643*, 1938, Harper Torchbooks (London: Harper & Row, 1957); James Edwin Orr, *The Second Great Awakening in Great Britain* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd, 1949).

[34] Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Mission*, 112.

[35] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in the Popular Beliefs in Sixteen and Seventeen Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 68,76-77.

[36] Stuart Clark, "Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (C1520-c.1630)," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 45-80; Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Mephistophele: The Devil in the Modern World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 30.

[37] Finlay rightly assesses that in Luther's theology, "the Devil is always regarded as an ever-present threat to Christianity." Anthony Finlay, *Demons! The Devil, Possession & Exorcism* (London: Blandford, 1999), 165; cf. Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, 1961, trans. Robert C. Schultz, Translation of Second Edition, 1963 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 161-68; Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 174; Martin Luther, *Luther's Work, Volume 30: The*

Wesley,[38] Calvin[39] and Bunyan. With regard to Bunyan, Meyer has demonstrated in her work, *Translating the Devil*, how the Ewe Presbyterians of Ghana, through the writings of Bunyan, draws a strict dualistic view between God and the devil.[40]

There was, however, a difference of emphasis between the Catholic and Protestant concepts. Thomas clearly spells out the Catholics' view, "this was the notion that glitch owed her powers to having made a deliberate pact with the devil."[41] Thus the essence of the Catholic concept of witchcraft was its alleged "heretical character—devil-worship."[42] Clark has shown what underlain the Protestant attitude to witchcraft. It was "to correct popular misapprehensions about the causation of unpleasant events"—to show the origin, nature and the significance of everyday misfortunes. All afflictions were necessarily providential, and demonic afflictions were merely a special case.[43] Witchcraft was only achieved with demonic powers, and these were only granted in order to see how the faithful would react to witchcraft.[44] Thus, for the Protestants, there was the stress on the sovereignty of God in their dealing with witchcraft, which is an

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Catholic Epistles, Jaroslaw Pelikan and Walter A. Hansen, eds. American Edition (Concordia Public House, 1967), 141.

[38]According Rack, Wesley did not believe only in the devil, but also in demon possession and witchcraft. Henry D. Rack, *John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1989), 194-95, 387.

[39]A quick scan on Calvin's theology shows that he believed implicitly in the reality of the devil, he refused to entertain the idea of demons as being just a figment of the imagination. But as Nielsen shows, he stressed that "Satan must stand ready in His service." Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, 1938, trans. Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1956), 77.

[40] Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 35; cf. Hill, *John Bunyan and His Church*, 198-230; John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim Progress*, Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

[41] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 438; cf. J. K. Oesterreich, *Possession: Demoniacal and Other Among Primitive, in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Modern Times* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1930), 176-201.

[42] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 438.

[43] The appropriate response for a person was to search his ways and to acknowledge his sins. Some misfortunes blamed on witches (while still providential) were only natural contingencies to be met with natural resources; the others were only demonic, for witches themselves were powerless (unless they too use natural means), however strong the proofs of their involvement. Clark, "Protestant Demonology," 59-60; cf. Oesterreich, *Possession*, 202-03.

indication of how Calvin's teaching on the providence of God[45] has had an impact on the overall theology of Protestantism. Again, Protestant interpretation reveals that witchcraft was closely linked with demons.

Nevertheless, unlike the Renaissance where "magic stood for freedom and progress, while science represented fatalism and absolute dogma,"[46] the traditional Christian diabology, which came to focus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and culminated in the European witch hunting,[47] was strongly criticised by the thinkers of the Enlightenment.[48] At the same time, non-Christian popular religion, based on belief in the existence of spirits, was also denounced as superstition.[49] Empiricists and rationalists like Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)[50] and John Locke (1632-1704) in England,[51] David Hume (1711-1776) in Scotland,[52] and René Descartes (1596-1650) in

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[44] Clark, "Protestant Demonology," 61, 77.
[45] Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, 61-79.
[46] Lamin Sanneh, *Encountering the West: Christianity and the Global Cultural Process: The African Dimension* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1993), 33; cf. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 662.
[47] See, for example, Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Gilbert Geis and Ivan Bunn, *A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Prosecution* (London: Routledge, 1997).
[48] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 571-83; Sylvana Tomaselli, "Witchcraft," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment*, John W. Yolton, Porter Roy, Pat Rogers and Barbara Maria Stafford, eds. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 554; Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 31-46.
[49] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 626; Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 31-32.
[50] A. P. Martinich, *A Hobbes Dictionary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 291.
[51] John Locke, *Locke and Berkeley: A Collection of Critical Essays*, C. B. Martin and D. M. Armstrong, eds. (London: Macmillan, n.d.), 208-11. Locke taught that all the immediate objects of human knowledge are ideas in the mind, since, for example, "the Devil and fallen angels cannot be saved." John Locke, *The Reasonableness of Christianity: As Delivered in the Scriptures*, 1695, Reprint taken from the 1794 Edition of the Works of John Locke (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1997), 102-03. See also John W. Yolton, *Locke: An Introduction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 78-80, 86-87; John Locke, *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, James Laxtell, ed. (Cambridge: Cambrdge University Press, 1968), 302-03.
[52] David Hume proposes that all miracles could be explained scientifically. He observed that in proportion as any man's course of life is governed by accident, we always find that he increases in superstition. He therefore recommended philosophy as he puts it, "[in] preference to superstition of every kind or denomination." David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 1739, David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, eds., Oxford Philosophical Texts Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 176. For him

France,[53] hastened the spread of this attitude; for they advanced that existence of spirits could not be proved.[54] For example, Hobbes expressed the view that demons were the heathen analogy to the angels of the Jews and Christians. They did not exist; they were imaginary creatures, "imported from Gentilism, which the doctors of the Roman Church, either by negligence or ambition, have filled up again with the new wine of Christianity, that will not fail in time to break."[55]

Theologians in Britain were the first to respond. The Irish Anglican theologian George Berkeley (1685-1753) proceeding upon this rationalistic foundation, demonstrated very easily that there was no material world. However, he was unwilling to give up the world of spirits.[56] The Church of Scotland minister Thomas Reid (1710-1797) was to take his point further by giving up the world of spirits. He assumed that, "perception, conscience, memory, and imagination, are all original and simple powers of the mind, and parts of its constitution.[57] Their philosophical approach was to be invigorated by

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"the errors in religion are dangerous, those in philosophy only ridiculous" (Ibid. 177). See also A. G. N. Flew, "Hume," in *A Critical History of Western Philosophy*, D. J. O'Connor, ed. (London: The Free Press of Glencoe Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1964), 265-70; James Hume, *Of Miracles*, 1748, Anthony Flew, ed. (La Salle: Open Court, 1985).

[53] Although Descartes used philosophy to establish the existence of God and of the external world, his followers rejected the whole concept of incorporeal substances as a contradiction in terms. By so doing, they effectively jettisoned demons from the natural world. See René Descartes, *The Essential Writings*, trans. John J. Blom (London: Harper Torchbooks, 1977), 195-97; cf. S. V. Keeling, *Descartes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 217-47; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 571.

[54] Finlay, *Demons!* 168.

[55] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: With Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*, 1668, Edwin Curley, Edited with Introduction and Notes (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1994), 435-36, 453.

[56] John Oulton Wisdom, *The Unconscious Origin of Berkeley's Philosophy* (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953), 41-43; Ian C. Tipton, *Berkeley: The Philosophy of Immaterialism* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1974), 312-15; cf. Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind Vol. I*, Copy at the University of Birmingham (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1803), 279.

[57] Thomas Reid, *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind Vol. III*, Copy at the University of Birmingham (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1803), 335; cf. Paul Wood, *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation: Papers Related to the Life Sciences* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 118-24. Reid assumes that God has deposited in the human mind, power (thought), when properly exercised, by

their counterparts in Germany. Based upon Kant's (1724-1804) philosophy,[58] whose basic thesis can be paraphrased as "the only thing that has meaning is something discoverable by the sense,"[59] both Protestant and Catholic theologians including the German theologians Ritschl (1822-89)[60] and Harnack (1851-1930)[61] attempted to adjust Christianity to modern rational thinking. Theologians then tried to explain the miracles in the Bible scientifically, giving way to liberalism, and by that discarded the belief in the devil and demons as folk superstition. Significant is the work of the German theologian Schleiermacher, whom Webster reckons as "the founding father of liberal Protestantism."[62] He considered the scriptures dealing with the devil and demons as purely culturally determined. Satan and the evil spirits were not demonic realities, but mere images personifying the abstract forces of evil. For him, Christianity should go

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individuals, the earth will become a paradise. On the contrary, its prevention and abuse is the cause of most of the evils that afflict human life. Thus, in this presentation, there is no room for the devil; evil acts are the deeds of human beings. Reid, *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind Vol. III*, 72.

[58] Kant holds that the devil is a personification of evil. He observes, "the evil spirits of which the Bible speaks are to be as figuring an evil principle which the will itself has adopted and which *per se* has nothing to do with the prompting of animal instinct." Bernard Reardon, *Kant as Philosophical Theologian* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 111.

[59] Finlay, *Demons!* 168, cf. Immanuel Kant, *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, 1933, trans. Norman Kemp Smith, Second Edition (London: Macmillan, 1987), 308-09; M. D. Geldard, "Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)," in *New Dictionary of Theology*, Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright and J. I. Packer, eds. (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), 362.

[60] For instance, Ritschl stressed that evil and meaninglessness can no longer simply be identified with disorder and chaos, or God and the good with order. There is the need to move above the traditional dualism and use the analytical process to help our understanding of God. Dietrich Ritschl, *The Logic of Theology: A Brief Account of the Relation Between Basic Concepts in Theology*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1986), 35-43. Thus for him, rationalism is the most essential methodology of knowing God.

[61] Harnack offered a chapter in his *Mission and Expansion of Christianity* in treating what he calls "the Conflict of Christianity." He realises that both Christians and pagans alike get more entangled in the beliefs in demons, and by that "plunged more helplessly than ever into the abysses of an imaginary world of spirits." Adolf Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries Vol.I*, trans. James Moffatt, revised edition (London: Williams and Norgate, 1908), 125-46. Thus for him the concept of the spirit is only imaginary. See also Adolf Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles Vol. XXVII*, trans. M. A. Wilkinson (London: Williams and Norgate, 1909), 133-61. Here Harnack reduces the miracles in the Acts of the Apostles to what he calls "primary tradition." See p. 159.

[62] J. B. Webster, "Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernest (1768-1834)," in *New Dictionary of Theology*, 619.

beyond the dualistic conception of God and the devil, which attributed too much power to the latter, and concentrated on God and Jesus.[63]

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, many pastors were said to have been inspired by the Enlightenment and subscribed to the premises of rationalism and critical biblical interpretation or were at least in favour of liberal theology.[64] Thus, Schleiermacher's position was accepted and many Protestant theologians began to demythologise concepts of the devil and demons. At the same time, Pietists/Puritans still upheld the traditional diabology and the dualistic conception of God and the devil. Whereas both views had, until then, coexisted and only given rise to theological disputes, from the second decade of the nineteenth century onwards, rational and liberal theology in particular and secularisation in general were heavily attacked by the Protestant (and partly Catholic) Awakening.[65] As McLoughlin has shown, the aim of the Protestant Awakening was to restore and maintain the "old-time religion and traditional way of life.[66] The old time religion had been based upon the Early Church and medieval interpretation of the Scriptures. This was necessarily based on the demonisation of the Gentile gods and the need to exorcise those who worship them.[67] "To restore old time religion" inevitably meant the Protestant Awakening sought among

[63] Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, H. R. Mackintosh and M. A. Steward, eds. English Translation of the Second German Edition (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), 161-70.
[64] Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 31. Gerrish, for example, sees Schleiermacher as the Prince of the Church. He condemns the puritans' concept of dualism; B. A. Gerrish, *A Prince of the Church: Schleiermacher and the Beginnings of Modern Theology* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1984), 47.
[65] McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 108-09; cf. Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 44.
[66] McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 108. See also Orr, *The Second Great Awakening*, 13-14.
[67] Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 63-73. Cf. Justin Martyr, *Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho*, trans., intro. and notes by A. Lukyn Williams (London: SPCK, 1930), 59, 109. Peter Stanford argues that this belief has always been within

other things to restore belief in the reality of the devil, life after death, the reality of heaven and hell and the need to evangelise the "heathen."[68]

Fiedler rightly points out that prominent among new initiatives and organisations, which each revival brings, are evangelistic efforts, social activities and foreign missions.[69] The nineteenth-century missionary awareness, therefore, was the product of the Protestant Awakening**.** Yet as Harvey Cox has stressed Ralph Waldo Emerson's warning to an audience at Harvard Divinity School in 1838, "the danger of a steady diet of other people's religion is that it can dry up one's own resource."[70] While, as Thomas sees it, the "disenchantment of the world" during the Enlightenment,[71] did not extinguish traditional Christian belief in the devil and witchcraft, as it has been shown, it still had a great impact on Protestant thinking. Newbigin, for instance, recognises that the Enlightenment contributed much to the distinctive self-consciousness of contemporary Western culture.[72] It was on this framework of thinking—traditional Christian beliefs in the devil, weakened by the criticisms during the Enlightenment — that missionaries began their ministries in Africa. This is depicted in the often-cited Livingstone's

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Christianity, but it became increasingly insistent during the medieval period. Peter Stanford, *The Devil: A Biography* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1996), 99.

[68] For instance Orr records that in 1860, in Edinburgh, the Carrubber's Close Mission ejected an Atheist Club from their premises; they described the house of prostitutes as "a fortress of the Devil." Orr, *The Second Great Awakening*, 74. Cf. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 108

[69] Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Mission*, 113.

[70] Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), 14.

[71] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 571-85, 640, 655.

[72] Lesslie Newbigin, *The Gospel in Pluralist Society* (London: SPCK, 1989), 17.

Cambridge Lectures, where he intoned, "I go back to Africa to make an open path for commerce and Christianity."[73]

2.4 God Versus the Devil: Missionaries' Perceptions of Traditional Beliefs and Practices

The missionaries from the Basel mission who were mostly Pietist[74] and Wesleyans went to Ghana with the certainty that they were obeying the Great Commission in Matthew 28:18-20 to go into the world, baptising and making disciples of Christ in all nations.[75] The new Christian communities would be at once the sign of the transforming power of Christ and the means of renewal of a degraded and depraved African society.[76] Thus the goals of the missionaries were not only to evangelise Ghana but also to be mediums of the blessings of Christian civilisation.[77] During this period the general picture of Africa was a "Dark Continent," a symbol of "primitiveness." The situation in Akan has been popularised through the writings of Europeans such as Bowdich, Dupuis and Bosman. The impressions these writers had given about the Akan were that they were very cruel, offered human sacrifices and were full of fetishism.[78] Consequently, the

[73] T. Price, "The Missionary Struggle with Complexity," in *Christianity in Tropical Africa: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Seventh International African Seminar, University of Ghana, April 1965*, 101; Kalu, "Church Presence in Africa," 18.
[74] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 21. Smith has shown that the Director of the Basel Mission was always an Ordained Wurttemberg Pietist and half of its missionaries stemmed from Pietist circles in Wurttemberg.
[75] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 86.
[76] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 87.
[77] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 87; Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 42.
[78] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other Parts of the Interior of Africa*, 1819 (London, 1873), 233-39; T. E. Bowdich, *An Essay on Superstitions, Customs, and Arts, Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Ashantees* (Paris: Peter Smith, 1821); 45-78; Joseph Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, 1824, W. E. F. Ward, ed. Second Edition (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966), 75-80; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea: Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coast*, 1704, Fourth English Edition (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1967), 230-31.

attitude of the missionaries continued to be determined by such pre-informed reports.[79] The evidence points out that wherever the missionaries went, they opposed, often successfully, almost all features of Akan customs and religion without giving much consideration to them.[80] Noel Smith's work about the Presbyterians in Ghana clearly shows that the Basel missionaries constantly "felt very strongly that it [the government] should legislate against 'heathenism' and prohibit traditional practices."[81] Meanwhile the Basel Mission had described what they meant by "heathenism," "the three fronts of heathenism are fetish worship, polygamy and the power of the chiefs, funerals are a great hindrance, the worship of idols is a vain deception."[82] Since Akan culture revolves around the chief, the assertion here implies that virtually everything of the Akan was evil and must be prohibited.

This kind of approach was reflected in the preaching and conversation of missionaries. Bartels records that Joseph Dunwell, the first Wesleyan missionary, began his ministry by launching an attack on what he described as "vain and foolish customs through an exhortation meeting" he set up at Cape Coast on Sunday evenings.[83] This was similar to the approach of Thompson, the first Anglican missionary. Thompson's approach was

[79] For example, John Beecham, the Wesleyan Missionary between 1831 and 1851, specifically prefaced his book on Asante that "he has endeavoured to condense, and to present in a somewhat systematic form, the information which he has gathered from the various sources to which he has had access." He then cited Dupuis and Bowdich. John Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast: Being a Sketch of History, Society and State Superstitions of the Inhabitants of Those Countries with a Notice of the State and Prospects of Christianity Among Them*, 1841, G. E. Metcalfe, ed. Reprinted with an Introduction (London: Dawsons of Paul Mall, 1968), vi.

[80] Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*; Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*; Harris W. Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanaians 1897-1965* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970).

[81] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 89. He observes that "there are constant references to the inaction of the English Colonial Government."

[82] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 89.

[83] Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 26.

not to speak about Christ or Christianity, "but strike at their false worship, and to endeavour to convince them of their absurd notions, and to expose the folly of the idolatrous and superstitious rites."[84]

The *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priests) were not only their main target, but they were also regarded as the agents of the devil. Thomas Freeman, a Methodist missionary, laments that "the people worship the devil," for he found out that everywhere he went there was "one of these Fetishmen…."[85] On another occasion he prayed that "the everlasting gospel may speedily chase the demon from these his dark abodes of cruelty."[86] Consequently, sometimes the treatment against the *akɔmfoɔ* were too harsh. Smith reiterates the Basel missionary Auer's remark, which he made against an *kɔmfoɔ*, who was presenting an offering to a god, "see this stupid man. He calls and receives no answer; he brings the fetish something and fowls feed on it."[87] Another Basel missionary, Mader (1851-77) is said to have flogged an *kɔmfoɔ* who opposed him.[88] According to Bartels, the Wesleyan missionaries in co-operation with the colonial government sometimes exposed the deceit of the *akɔmfoɔ* at trial in court. People who were found guilty were flogged and imprisoned.[89] In some cases too, their approach was very confrontational and publicly humiliating. Smith reveals the nature of

[84] Thompson, *An Account of My Two Missionary Voyages*, 54.
[85] Thomas Birch Freeman, *Journal of Various Visits to The Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomi in Western Africa*, 1844, Robert I. Rotberg, ed. Third Edition (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1968), 82; see also Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 88.
[86] Freeman, *Journal of Various Visits*, 25.
[87] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 89.
[88] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 90. Why there is no record of revenge by the indigenous people is strange, perhaps the presence of the colonial government might have prevented this in Akuapem area.
[89] Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 58-59.

punishment employed by the Basel missionary Madler at the Mission's seminary at Akropong. He would send students to fetch black soil for the garden from the sacred grove, reserved for the *abosom* (gods), in fulfilling this they had to run the gauntlet of scandalised angry townsfolk.[90]

Nonetheless, the *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priests) saw themselves as priests of God and were sometimes helpful to some missionaries.[91] A few missionaries who accepted them had great impact on society. Riis won for himself the nickname *ɔbroni kɔmfoɔ* (a white "fetish priest")—an indication not only of the impact Riis had on the people, but also of that of the *akɔmfoɔ*.[92] There is no written record of direct persecution from the *akɔmfoɔ* against the missionaries.[93] An unfortunate incident was the capture and imprisonment, in Kumasi, of some Basel missionaries, Rev. & Mrs Ramseyer, their son and Kühne, and a French Roman Catholic trader, Bonnat, for political reasons.[94]

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[90] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 91.

[91] Debrunner reports that one Catechist Danso was saved from death by a traditional priest, who declared to the people that they should not kill the priest of God. Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 212.

[92] Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 99. Perhaps Riis understood the culture well because, as referred to elsewhere in this chapter, he had been saved by the ministration of a traditional priest when he first arrived in the country.

[93] Throughout the history of Christianity in Ghana, with the exception of four missionaries who were killed in 1576, and a Ghanaian Catechist killed in Northern Asante on the suspicion that he was a spy for the British, there is no clear evidence of any persecution of missionaries. Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 212. For discussion on the activities of the missionaries who were murdered and the possible reasons for their murder, see Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 21-24; Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor*, 13; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 25; Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 26-28.

[94] The Asante thought that the missionaries were in support of an upheaval against them by some of their colonies. Another incident was Mr. & Mrs Jost and Mr Weller (Basel missionaries) who were also captured and imprisoned in Kumasi for political reasons. This was in connection with a rebellion of Asante against the British for demanding the *Sika Dwa Kofi* (the Golden Stool Kofi), which is thought to incorporate the soul of Asante. In both situations Debrunner reports that the missionaries captured were treated tolerably well during their enforced stay, although Ellis reports that they suffered on the journey to Kumasi. Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 122, 212; Alfred Burton Ellis, *A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London: Chapman and Hall, LD., 1893), 262-63. See also Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 89; Frederick Myatt, *The Golden Stool: An Account of the Ashanti War of 1900* (London: William Kimber, 1966), 38; A. Kyerematen, "The Royal Stools of Ashanti," *Africa* xxxix, no. 1 (1969), 2-5.

Since, among the Akan, the *akɔmfoɔ* work in close relation with the chiefs, sometimes some of them too were attacked. The two main issues which came to the forefront with regard to the attack against the chiefs were ancestral rites and polygyny.[95] However, in spite of the fact that polygyny is the exception rather than the rule, it is the mark of the well-to-do man and the chief.[96] Some chiefs who opposed Christian activities were also told directly that they would go to hell.[97]

Cruickshank, who was a member of the first Legislative Council of the Gold Coast and became Acting Governor for a year, from August 1853, unintentionally painted a lucid picture of the missionaries' work:

> In season and out of season, they [missionaries] dinned into unwilling ears loud complaints of their lost and miserable condition. *They attacked their idolatrous practices*, their social immoralities, and their more innocent conventional usages, and *forbade their repetition with such a tone of authority* as the possession only of a power to still at once the raging sea or the stormy passions of man could have warranted.[98] (Italics mine)

The extent to which the missionaries opposed and rejected the Akan beliefs and practices is clearly demonstrated in the establishment of the Salem pattern, a Christian community separated from the other people, by the Basel mission.[99] Though the Methodists had similar intention, they could only implement it at Beulah in the Western

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[95] Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 190-96, 267-68, 351-52; Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 91; Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, 122.
[96] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 93-94.
[97] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 91.
[98] Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, Including an Account of the Native Tribes, and Their Intercourse with Europeans, Vol. 1*, 1853, Second Edition (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1966), 115-16.
[99] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 49-51; Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, 199; Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 59; Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor*, 156; Joseph Boakye Danquah, *The Akim Abuakwa Handbook* (London:Foster Groom, 1928), 90. The Christians were forbidden to take part

Region.[100] Salem attracted people for two major reasons, firstly, as Isichei puts it, "Christians lived in western-style life"[101] and secondly, it was assumed that in the Christian villages witchcraft could not operate and to become a Christian was to be extinguished from witchcraft.[102] Thus the popularity of Salem was due to the quest for succour.

The Protestant missions stand alone in this approach to the traditional beliefs and practices in Ghana. The Catholics from the Society of Africa Missions in Ghana, unlike their counterpart in Eastern Nigeria, the Holy Ghost Fathers, who established a Christian village,[103] were very tolerant.[104] Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that when they returned to Ghana in 1880 after a period of unsuccessful attempts to establish work in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[105] they found out that the St Anthony statue left at Elmina in the sixteenth century had been turned into a new *bosom* (god), *Nana Ntona* or *Santa Mariafo*. It was considered the best rain giver.[106] Contrary to the expectation of the people that the Catholics would be hostile to their devotion, according to Wiltgen "they even went so far as to support the fetish priest."[107] Hastings remarks elsewhere that they "were able to respond rather with more flexibility than would have been the case a generation earlier."[108]

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in local activities such as traditional dancing and festivals. In addition, Christians who were living with non-Christians were encouraged not to eat with them.

[100] Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 33, 70.

[101] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 167. See also Elizabeth Isichei, *History of West Africa Since 1800* (London: Macmillan, 1977), 261.

[102] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 102.

[103] Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 36.

[104] Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 142.

[105] Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 142.

[106] Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 150-51.

[107] Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, 148.

[108] Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 577.

Notwithstanding, there was a point of convergence with regards to the approach of both the Protestant and the Catholic missionaries in their efforts to evangelise; they both saw the school as the nursery of the Church. Christian education was to offer the Africans the full measure of Christian civilisation.[109] The school, representing Christianity was seen as profitable. This notion was conveyed to the Akan people through the preaching and pronouncements of some missionaries, African preachers[110] and Government officials. Often they stressed that "the difference between the progress in civilisation of the white man and the backwardness of the African was due to the difference in religion."[111] For instance, Metcalfe unearths Governor Maclean's advice to the two Christian princes from Asante which continues, "they had seen enough in England to impress them with the immeasurable benefits which will surely attend the introduction of …practical Christianity…that wealth, power and greatness are the consequences of civilization."[112] These are the very "essential commodities," which every Akan seeks.[113] Again in a letter to Freeman, Governor Maclean refers to Kumasi, the Capital of Asante, as "that stronghold of Satan" and contrasted it with "Christian England."[114] Eventually, people were not joining the churches mainly because of orthodox conversion, signs of the consciousness of sin and rebirth. But people joined the Christians because of abundant life (wealth, power and greatness), for they thought that

[109] Basically this was to enable them to read the Bible for themselves; to ground them in the word of God and finally, to train them for future leadership of the Church. Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, 58-59.
[110] David Asante, an Akan preacher was said to have won many converts through such preaching. Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 90
[111] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 90.
[112] G. E. Metcalfe, *Maclean of the Gold Coast: The Life and Times of George Maclean, 1801-1847* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 273.
[113] See Chapter Two, section 1.3.

the "god" of the white man was more powerful than the gods (*abosom*) of the black man and stronger than the influence of witchcraft.[115] Isichei comments that "without realizing the full implications of their policies, missionaries were to catapult their converts into the cash economy."[116]

2.5 Varieties of Response

The title of the Nigerian Novelist, Chinua Achebe's, book, *Things Fall Apart*, is not only reflective of the changing lives in Nigeria when the traditional society came into contact with "Europeanisation," but also of other parts of Africa and elsewhere.[117] Examination of the corpus of literature on church history in Ghana shows that this approach to traditional beliefs and practices has provoked three types of responses from society, divisions which still persist among Akan society.

Firstly is the group which can be classified as the traditional people; these think that Christianity is meddling with ancestral customs and decide to defend them.[118] The majority of this group come from the chiefs, *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priest), and Akan scholars. The resistance to Christianity was not on doctrinal grounds but from an evasion of its demands: the demands to break away from the traditional clan and family ties, something which Edwin Smith rightly observes was "an act never considered

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[114] Freeman, *Journal of Various Visits*, 71.
[115] Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 102; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 267.
[116] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 168.
[117] Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (London: Heinemann, 1958).
[118] Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, 239; Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary*, 105-13; John Parker, *The Recovery of West African Past: African Pastors and African History in the Nineteenth Century*, Paul Jenkins, ed. (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1998), 31-55; cf. Ayandele, a Nigerian church historian, not only identifies this type of response among his people, but also varieties. E. A.

possible or desirable."[119] Mobley's work is of particular importance to this reaction, for it analyses the published critiques of Christian missionaries by Ghanaians.[120] He realises that what the intelligentsia sought was a dialogue with the Ghanaian culture. He writes:

> There were critics who saw that the best from other past cultures had enriched the faith brought to Ghana. They wished also that Ghanaian culture be recognized. They envisioned a day the Ghanaians would 'teach the European something unique about this universal religion, something which will be Africa's own share.'[121]

Thus what the Ghanaian sought is what current missiologists would have expected from the missionaries.[122] The issue was not that the missionaries did not see the need to adapt to the culture. They did; for example, Busia records that, "they agreed that purely traditional customs could be followed by Christians wherever possible."[123] The problem was that they could not respect this distinction themselves.[124] Paramount among the reasons given for this failure is that they failed to involve the Akan in the most important decisions.[125]

Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1966), 241-80.

[119] Edwin William Smith, *The Golden Stool: Some Aspects of the Conflicts of Culture in Modern Africa* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1926), 26.

[120] Mobley was also a missionary to Ghana.

[121] Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary*, 168.

[122] Missiologists would expect them to have examined all the ramifications of the traditional religious beliefs and cultural practices of their converts, seen how they diverged from their new religious concepts and beliefs, and then attempted to help them to find solutions; Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 72-80, 360-61; David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), 82-86; J. Andrew Kirk, *What is Mission? Theological Explorations* (London: Darton, 1999), 89.

[123] Kofi Abrefa Busia, *The Position of the Chief in Modern Asante* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), 134.

[124] The missionaries could not clarify the difference between what to them was purely custom and 'paganism' to their converts. This is reflected in Busia's report on the conflicts that were going on between the chiefs and the Christians. Busia records that Christians would reject communal labour on the grounds that the pastor says "it is against the law of the church." Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 137; see also G. K. Nukunya, *Tradition and Change in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1992), 127.

[125] For instance, in an attempt to settle a cultural issue resulting in conflict in Kumasi, in 1912, the Colonial District Commissioner summoned a meeting including six representatives from the churches

The Second type of response comes from the group which can be labelled as people of dual allegiance; this is the party who have already been identified elsewhere in the chapter as people who co-exist with both traditional and Christian beliefs. These are people who have accepted the Christians faith, but when they are threatened by difficult situations where they cannot find a solution in mission Christianity, they resort to the *abosom* (the gods).[126] For Brokensha, such people are genuine Christians,[127] as against Busia who describes them as " a thin veneer."[128]

Thirdly, there is the group which can be tagged as mission-oriented people; these have absorbed mission Christianity wholeheartedly and make war on traditional beliefs and practices with little or no apparent concern for indigenisation.[129] Within the minds of these people, the missionaries, through strong opposition to the Akan traditional beliefs and practices and associating them with the devil, had aroused the conviction that everything indigenous was devilish, and as such opposed to Christianity. Persistently, the records show that there were conflicts between these mission-oriented people and the traditional people.[130] The latter forced the former to observe traditional practices of which the former thought, as Christians, observance meant participating in "pagan"

(Wesleyan, Basel and Roman Catholics). Busia significantly remarks that "they were all Europeans." Busia, *Position of the Chief*, 134.

[126] Kofi Abrefa Busia, "The Ashanti," *African Worlds, Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples* (1954): 207-08, 190-209; Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 56-61.

[127] David Brokensha, *Social Change at Lartey, Ghana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 34.

[128] Busia, "The Ashanti," 208.

[129] Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, 239; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 267.

[130] For example see, Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, 199; Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 104.

practices.[131] But the traditional people would not understand and would persist that the mission-oriented people should get involved, hence the conflict. Yet, despite this conflict, there was another that was more serious, namely within Christianity. This battle was initiated by the mission-oriented people against the people of dual allegiance. There are reports of exclusions from membership of the Church of those who took part in traditional and social gatherings and also visited the *abosom* for *abisa* (consultation).[132]

The clearest and often-cited example is the "firing" of Ephraim Amu in the 1930s; he introduced Ghanaian music and drumming into the Presbyterian Church, and also put on the traditional cloth to preach at Church. Agyeman puts it this way, "the Church authorities began to wonder if it was right to let him go on with such pagan things at their only training College."[133] What some historians usually leave out here,[134] but is significant for our purpose, is that it was not the missionaries who confronted Amu, it was a fellow Ghanaian pastor, R. S. Kwami.[135] The implication here is that the missionaries' work was complete; Ghanaians themselves had come to the realisation that everything traditional was pagan. This sort of realisation influenced the Akan society as a whole; and finally Christianity became associated with the white man's religion, everything it contained was godly. Akan culture (and religion) was associated

[131] Ward, *A History of the Gold Coast*, 199; Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 104.
[132] For example, see Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana*, 104.
[133] Fred Agyemang and Nyaku Phanuel, *Amu, The African* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1996), 44. Eventually Amu had to leave as a result of the conflicts.
[134] D. Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 200 note 4; Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 267.
[135] Atta Kwami, "Interview by Author," On Telephone, London, June 14, 2000. Atta Kwami is a grandson of Rev. R. S. Kwami.

with the black man's religion, everything it contained was devilish.[136] The Pentecostal type of exorcism arises from this understanding.

Beside the fact that many people were not satisfied with this kind of interpretation, it left the Christian community in great distress; the churches were not meeting the holistic needs of the people. The situation can clearly be demonstrated in the cry of the people who witnessed the trial of some *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priests) at the colonial court in Cape Coast. They cried, "what can we do in sickness and distress? Whither can we fly for succour? Our gods have been proved to be no gods! Our priests have deceived us!"[137] Indeed, after hearing the tricks and deceits in *akɔm* (spirit possession) the people felt desolate and deprived of every spiritual trust. Bartels who recounts this story adds, "victory there had been; but the battle for filling the place of *Nanaam* [the gods] was yet to be joined."[138] Bartels saw the replacement in establishing a theological seminary to train people who could share the responsibility of an increased Church.[139] But history was to prove him wrong, since the people were looking for charismatic figures whom they could consult in time of crisis, "human spirit-beings" who could protect them from witchcraft and other threatening forces, mediums who could divine and heal, just as they looked to the *akɔmfoɔ* for these. These were to be partially fulfilled in the emergence of "prophetism" within Christianity as the next two sections highlight.

[136] Cf. John S. Pobee, *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1949-1966* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1988), 86-87; Nukunya, *Tradition and Change*, 126-29.
[137] Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 59.
[138] Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 59.

3 THE EMERGENCE OF PROPHETISM WITHIN THE MAINLINE CHURCHES

There emerged out of the churches some charismatic figures, generally called prophets. They sought to co-operate with the churches, though they might either originate within or independently of the churches. Often they came from the lower strata of society with little or no formal education, whose experiences of the Christian faith might be different from the mainline churches.[140] These people began to exhibit some of the features of the Akan traditional practices, especially what Baëta calls "prophetism," within Christianity. Baëta's description of "prophetism" includes the person who secures a following because of the individual's claim to have the ability "of revealing hidden things [and] predicting the future."[141] This means *abisa* is an important aspect of prophetism. Similar to their counterparts in Africa, such as Babalola of Nigeria[142] and

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[139] Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, 59-60.

[140] As recognised by many scholars, many of them were catechists, elders, chapel keepers, or ordinary church members. Southon, *Gold Coast Methodism*, 114; Hans W. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana: A Study on the Belief in Destructive Witches and Its Effects on the Akan Tribes*, 1959 (Accra: Presbyterian Book Depot Ltd, 1961), 144; Bengt G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 1948, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 121.

[141] Baëta describes prophetism as follows:

> Prophetism appears to me to be a perennial phenomenon of African life, and the basic operative element in it seems to be personal in character. Whether in relation to or independently of events or development in society, the individual endowed with a striking personality and ability to impose his will on others, believing himself, and believed by others to be a special agent of some supernatural being or force, will emerge from time to time and secure a following. Powers traditionally credited to such persons, of healing, of revealing hidden things, predicting the future, cursing and blessing effectually, etc. will be attributed to him whether he claims them or not." Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 6-7.

[142] Christopher Olubunmi Oshun, "Apostle Babalola: The Making of a Contemporary Prophet," in *Christian Presence and West African Response Through the Years*, S. O. Abogunrin, ed. (Ibadan: West African Association of Theological Institutions, 1983), 238-55; Robert Cameron Mitchell, "The Babalola Revival: A Non-Arrested Prophet Movement" (Ph. D. Diss., Northwestern University, 1970).

Kimbangu of Congo,[143] their emergence was to introduce a new dimension to Christianity in Ghana. Prominent among these prophets are those discussed below.

3.1 Prominent Prophets

Possibly the first of these prophets was Samuel Nyankson,[144] a Methodist Catechist, who might have emerged in the 1910s and worked among the Asante Jacobu people in Dunkwa on-Offin area.[145] The most prominent among the prophets, as Hastings remark also indicates,[146] was William Wade Harris, a native of Liberia from the Grebo people.[147] His itinerant ministry began in 1913 in the Ivory Coast and extended to the southwestern part of Ghana in 1914.[148] Another prophet was John Swatson, who

[143] Marie-Louise Martin, *Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church*, trans. D. M. Moore (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975); Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 58-59.

[144] Originally he came from Onyaa –Wonsu in the Central Region of Ghana.

[145] The exact period for the Nyankson ministry is not recorded. However, Baëta records that Joseph Appiah, the founder of the Musama Disco Christo Church, having been influenced by Nyankson, made a contact with him before starting a prayer camp in August 1919, which subsequently led to the establishment of a Church on 22 October 1922. Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 29-30. Jerry Jehu Appiah, a grandson of Joseph Appiah, confirms this. Jerry Jehu Appiah, London, Personal Communication, May 6, 2000. For further reading on Nyankson and his ministry see also Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 329-30; David George Burnett, "Charisma and Community in a Ghanaian Independent Church" (Ph. D. Diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1997), 85.

[146] In his preface to Shank's work on Harris, Hastings remarks that, "Harris was, all in all, the most interesting African prophet of the twentieth century." David A Shank, *Prophet Harris, 'the Black Elijah' of West Africa*, abridged by Jocelyn Murray (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), v.

[147] Gordon Mackay Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris: A Study of an African Prophet and His Mass-Movement in the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1971), 35; Shank, *Prophet Harris*, 108.

[148] Harris' popularity centres on the nature of his ministry. Harris and his itinerant team of women, who were said to be his wives (about four or five), would play the African rattles and dance before preaching . His approach was to demand "sincerity as manifested by the destruction of fetiches and charms," an approach which can be interpreted as preaching and exorcism. He did not establish a church but asked his converts to join the established churches. Where there was no church, according to his followers, he asked them to wait for a white man who would come and teach them. William J. Platt, *An African Prophet: The Ivory Coast Movement and What Came of It.* (London: SCM Press, 1934), 87. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 74. For further reading on Harris in addition to sources referred to already, see Mary Gillian Bediako, "The Relationship Between Western Missions and the Indigenous Christian Prophets of West Africa, William Wade Harris, John Swatson and Sampson Oppong, and Its Significant for Christian Mission" (MA. Diss., Aberdeen, 1980), James McKeown, "Gathering Gold in the Gold Coast," *Herald of Grace* (January 1939); Paul S. Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah: Independent Church Leaders in the Gold Coast, 1914-1958," *The International Journal*

resigned from the Methodist church, and became a disciple of Harris. He was born at Beyin in Apollonia (western Ghana) and ministered for the Anglican Church mainly in Apollonia and parts of Denkyira between 1914-1919.[149] Prophet Oppong, an illiterate native of Dormaa Ahenkro and a former *ɔdutofoɔ* (a sorcerer),[150] also ministered for the Methodist Church in Asante, in the 1920s.[151]

3.2 Comparing and Contrasting the Ministries of the Prophets to that of the Missionaries

The prophets shared some views with the missionaries. Just like the missionaries, the prophets believed that the *abosom* (gods) and *asuman* ("fetishism") were demons and controlled by the devil,[152] an indication of the extent to which the missionaries' ministry had penetrated the West African ethnic groups. Beside this, Haliburton observes that there were some traditional beliefs which Harris, for example, following the lead of the

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of African Historical Studies 12, no. 4 (1979): 587; Arthur E. Southon, *More King's Servants* (London: Atlantis Press, 1929); Casely Hayford Hayford, *William Waddy Harris. The West Africa Reformer: The Man and His Message* (London: C. M. Phillips, 1915).

[149] For further reading on Swatson, see Gordon Mackay Haliburton, "The Anglican Church in Ghana and the Harris Movement," *The Bulletin for Society for African Church History (Nsukka)* 1, no. 3-4 (1964): 101-06; Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 97, 147-48; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 276; Bediako, "The Relationship Between Western Missions and the Indigenous Christian Prophets of West Africa," 10, 23-25

[150] *Adutofoɔ* (sorcerers) do not have as good a reputation in Asante as *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priests) . See Chapter Two, section 2.5. Oppong's story shows that he was the former and not the later. Alternative spelling of the name is "Opong." Debrunner uses "Opong" in his article concerning him (Oppong). Hans W. Debrunner, *The Story of Sampson Opong* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1965).

[151] His conversion experience, the carrying of a cross and his concentration on destroying "fetishism," have prompted others, including Haliburton, E. W. Thompson the Methodist Chairman of the Conference in 1922, and Debrunner, to presume that he was influenced by Harris. Yet Oppong denied any prior knowledge of Harris' work before his conversion, to both Debrunner and Haliburton during their separate interviews with him in 1965. Debrunner, *The Story of Sampson Opong*, 14-15; Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 214. For reading on Oppong see also Gordon Mackay Haliburton, "The Calling of a Prophet: Sampson Oppong," *The Bulletin of Society for African Church History* 2, no. 1 (Dec 1965): 84-96; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 311; Kofi Asare Opoku, "A Brief History of Independent Church Movement in Ghana 1862-1969," Paper Submitted to the Annual Meeting, Historical Society of Ghana, 1969), 22; Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, 163.

[152] Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 63; Debrunner, *The Story of Sampson Opong*, 24.

missionaries, did reject and battle against. This included rejecting the belief in witchcraft and the whole concept of detecting, trying and punishing witches.[153] However, Haliburton makes a mistake here, which is also a reflection of the missionaries' flaw. He assumes that Harris' challenge to the way witches were detected and tried was a disbelief in witchcraft. But Harris' ministry, as Haliburton himself presented, shows that he did believe in witchcraft; rather it was the procedure of dealing with it, which he rejected.[154] Accordingly, his ministry offered a better alternative; throwing away all "fetishism," becoming baptised and going to church was the solution.[155]

This leads us to a major difference between the missionaries and the prophets' ministries. Whereas the missionaries saw the gods and witchcraft as "paganism," they regarded the people's fear as superstitious and thus failed to deal with it. Perhaps, this was a poor rendering of the Protestant position that the providence of God overrules all things.[156] However, the African prophets directed their messages against these powers and demonstrated the power of God to overcome them through the driving out of the spirits.[157] Just like the Old Testament prophets, sometimes their messages carried threats and showed evidence of power.[158] Furthermore while the missionaries drew a

[153] Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 15-16. Haliburton cites an example of how Harris ran into great danger when he opposed a local trial by ordeal.
[154] Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 53-54, 62-63, 78.
[155] See Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 74.
[156] See section 2.3 above.
[157] Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 74; Shank, *Prophet Harris*, 177-78; Southon, *Gold Coast Methodism*, 145; Haliburton, "Sampson Oppong," 95.
[158] Debrunner records that people ran to accept the Lord, as Oppong threatened to call fire from heaven to burn people's pagan paraphernalia if they disbelieved; Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 311. According to Haliburton it was reported that Harris prayed for thunder, and it came. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 81.

line of demarcation between Christianity and the traditional beliefs and practices, the prophets did not. For instance, according to Platt, Harris told the people that they might go to the "medicine man" and accept his herbs, but they must not permit him to "say the name of God over them."[159] This was a good attempt to distinguish between the Akan cultural and religious practices and, thus making acceptance of these practices by Christians easier.[160]

The strength of the prophets' personalities in their ministries also shows a difference. Just as Sundkler observes the powerful and authoritative personality of the Zulu Prophet Nzuza,[161] so did others observe the personalities of some of these prophets. One African barrister-at-law commented about Harris, "you cannot be at his presence for long without realising that you are in contact with a great personality. He began as a reformer in the state…. He ended as a reformer in the Spirit realm."[162] Rev. Whittle, a Methodist minister who arrived in Asante during Oppong's revival remarked that "he was very humble in the pulpit, but a very forceful personality out of it."[163] Similar to the *akɔmfoɔ*, it appears that, it needs strong personalities to function in the roles of the prophets as Harris and Oppong did, for people with "evil spirit" began to tremble in their presence.

[159] Platt, *An African Prophet*, 87.
[160] For the Akan, it is the prayer offered on the herbs by the representation of a deity that makes it efficacious. See Chapter Two, section 2.5.
[161] Bengt G. M. Sundkler, *Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 97.
[162] Platt, *An African Prophet*, 57.
[163] Bediako, "The Relationship Between Western Missions and the Indigenous Christian Prophets of West Africa," 12. Oppong's life story shows that he was an extrovert just as Harris, but unlike Harris, he lacked

3.3 Relationship

Despite the input which the prophets brought to Christianity in Ghana, with the exception of Nyankson, they could not work at peace with the churches. Gillian Bediako's historical documentary of this relationship is insightful.[164] From her discussion, it is clear that both the prophets and the missionaries made such relationships difficult. For example, while the prophets, being too aware of their call by God,[165] would not submit to church leadership,[166] the missionaries would not recognise them within the structures of the churches.[167] Yet in all these the prophets were not completely rejected as heretics by the missionaries as was the case with the Montanists in the Early Church.[168] The puzzle was that the prophetic ministry could not find a place within the structures of the established churches of the period. The impact of the prophetic ministries, the challenges that they posed to the mainline churches and the failure of the missionaries to handle them satisfactorily, were to be pictured in the emergence of the "Spiritual churches," our next focus.

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self-control, and returned to his old habits of drinking and flirting with women. Bediako, "The Relationship Between Western Missions and the Indigenous Christian Prophets of West Africa," 23.

[164] Bediako, "The Relationship Between Western Missions and the Indigenous Christian Prophets of West Africa."

[165] For example, Harris and Swatson had a close connection with the Methodist and Anglican churches respectively before their call (Shank, *Prophet Harris*, 47-48; Haliburton, "The Anglican Church in Ghana," 101-02), however, after their call they claimed to be subject to God only. See Shank, *Prophet Harris*, 155; Haliburton, "The Anglican Church in Ghana," 102; Bediako, "The Relationship Between Western Missions and the Indigenous Christian Prophets of West Africa," 7.

[166] Debrunner reports that Oppong was fined by the Chief of Dormaa for seducing a small girl, but he would not submit to missionary discipline. Debrunner, *The Story of Sampson Opong*, 33

[167] Swatson sent his converts to the Anglican church, and they licensed him to preach. Yet Haliburton reports that by 1919, Swatson ceased to play any major role in the mission of the Anglicans. Eventually this brought a strain between Swatson and the Anglican church, and Swatson accused the Anglican church of stealing his churches. Bediako thinks that "the turn of events and Swatson's possible isolation in this vision…must have occasioned very bitter distress, if not mental disturbance." Bediako, "The Relationship Between Western Missions and the Indigenous Christian Prophets of West Africa," 17, 27; Haliburton, "The Anglican Church in Ghana," 106.

[168] H. E. W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth: A Study in the Relation Between Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Early Church* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Limited, 1954), 124-32. See also the

4 THE SPIRITUAL CHURCHES

4.1 General Outlook

Following the ministries of the prophets, from 1922 onwards some independent churches began. Some Ghanaians with strong personalities, who claimed to have received calls from God either through dreams and visions or some special awareness, broke away from mainline churches and established their own independent churches. These are commonly referred to in Ghana as *Sunsum sɔrë* (Spiritual churches). Some scholars have shown that before this period schism had already taken place in the mainline churches.[169] However, the distinguishing mark of the Spiritual churches from earlier independent churches is that while the latter group was virtually indistinguishable in doctrine and practices from the mission churches from which they sprang, in the former all the colours of the Akan traditional spectrum are to be found.[170] As Turner observes in the whole continent of Africa, "they range from churches almost indistinguishable from the most westernized products of Christian missions, to cults that are a revival of traditional pagan religions with no more than a few Christian

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discussion of the fate of Montanism in Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 198-232.

[169] Opoku, "Independent Church Movement in Ghana," 1-15, see also Kofi Asare Opoku, "A Brief History of Independent Church Movement in Ghana Since 1862," in *The Rise of Independent Churches in Ghana*, Asempa, ed. (Accra: Asempa, 1990), 12-15. The first of these was the Methodist Society or (*Akonomnsu*, Water Drinkers) in 1862 (Kwasi A. Dickson, "The Methodist Society: A Sect," *Ghana Bulletin of Theology* 2, no. 6 (1964). This was followed by the National Baptist Church founded by Mark Christian Hayford in 1898, 1-7 (Mark C. Hayford, "West Africa and Christianity," in *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa*, Longley, ed. (London, 1979, photocopy at Harold Turner collection University of Birmingham, no publisher included), 128). Then the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1898 (Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 237-38). And finally the Nigritian Church in 1907 (Debrunner, *The Story of Sampson Opong*, 322-23; Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, 164).

[170] Cf. Allan H. Anderson, "Types and Butterflies: African Initiated Churches and European Churches and European Typologies," *International Bulletin* 25, no. 3 (2001): 107-112.

glosses."[171] Thus, as implied in various terminologies used to describe these churches, such as separatist,[172] Aladura,[173] Ethiopian and Zionist types,[174] and as Pobee and Ositelu have interestingly highlighted in the acronym AIC,[175] terminology to cover this accurately is difficult. Arguably, the best description of this type of movement is "Indigenous Pentecostal-type churches," as suggested by Allan Anderson concerning a similar group in South Africa;[176] this description is adopted by Asamoah-Gyadu for these churches in Ghana.[177]

Just as Sundkler pioneered the study of these movements in South Africa,[178] Welbourn and Ogot in East Africa,[179] and Turner steadily worked to contribute to scholarly understanding of the Aladura churches in Nigeria,[180] Baëta highlighted these churches

[171] Harold W. Turner, "The Significance of African Prophet Movements," *Hibbert Journal* 61, no. 242 (1963): 2, (copy at Harold Turner Collection numbered as 1-8).
[172] George Parrinder, *Witchcraft: A Critical Study of the Belief in Witchcraft from the Records of Witch Hunting in Europe Yesterday and Africa Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 107.
[173] J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).
[174] Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 53-55.
[175] These includes, African Initiated Churches, African Initiatives in Christianity, African Indigenous Churches, African Instituted churches, African Independent churches; John S. Pobee and Gabriel Ositelu 11, *African Initiatives in Christianity: The Growth, Gifts and Diversities of Indigenous African Churches* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998), 4; see also John Appiah-Kubi, "Indigenous African Churches," in *African Theology En Route*, 117; David A. Shank, "African Independent Churches, African Theology and Western Co-Workers in the *Missio Dei*," in *Ministry in Partnership with African Independent Churches: Papers Presented at the Conference on Ministry in Partnership with African Independent Churches, July 1989 Kinshasa, Zaire*, David A. Shank, ed. (Elkhart: Mennonite, 1991), 4; Richard B. Saah, "African Independent Movements," *African Christian Studies* 7, no. 3 (1991): 48, 46-77.
[176] Allan H. Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992), 7.
[177] Johnson Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity: A Study of Some Current Historical and Theological Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Birmingham, 2000), 22.
[178] Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*.
[179] F. B. Welbourn and B. A. Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home: A Study of Two Independent Churches in Western Kenya* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).
[180] Harold W. Turner, *History of an African Independent Church I: The Church of the Lord (Aladura)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Harold W. Turner, *History of an African Independent Church II: The Life and Faith of the Church of the Lord (Aladura)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967). However, in

in Ghana.[181] In a survey conducted by the Ghana Evangelism Committee in 1993, there was a total of 23,924 of these churches recorded in Ghana.[182] The group that claims to be the first of these churches is the Twelve Apostles Church of Ghana,[183] started by two former *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priests), Grace Harris Tani and John Nackabah, [184] whom Harris baptised during his ministry in Ghana.[185] Prominent in membership among the rest of the numerous Spiritual churches are Africa Faith Tabernacle, Musama Disco Christo Church, the Church of the Lord (Aladura Groups),[186] Saviour Church of Ghana and Apostles Revelation Society.[187]

A good deal of discussion has been made on the causes of the proliferation of these churches in Ghana and the whole of Africa.[188] However, they all seem to centre around

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Nigeria, Parrinder was the first to write about this movement followed by Peel. George Parrinder, *Religion in an African City* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953) and Peel, *Aladura*.

[181] Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*. Other major works on these churches include Paul S. Breidenbach, "*Sumsum Edwuma*, The Spiritual Work: Forms of Symbolic Action and Communication in a Ghanaian Healing Movement" (Ph. D. Diss., Northwestern University, 1973); David M. Beckmann, *Eden Revival: Spiritual Churches in Ghana* (London: Concordia Publishing House, 1975); Robert W. Wyllie, *Spiritism in Ghana: A Study of New Religious Movements* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1980); Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana." Ferdinand William Bekoe Akuffo, "The Indigenization of Christianity in Ghana: A Study in Ghanaian Pentecostalism" (Ph. D. Diss., The University of Oxford, 1975); Burnett, "Charisma and Community in a Ghanaian Independent Church."

[182] Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1993), 19.

[183] Southon, *More King's Servants*, 96-113.

[184] Paul S. Breidenbach, "The Woman on the Beach and the Man in the Bush: Leadership and Adepthood in the Twelve Apostles Movement of Ghana," in *The New Religions of Africa*, B. Jules Rosette, ed. (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Co., 1979), 102, cf. Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 148-49.

[185] Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 582; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 9.

[186] According to Turner, this Nigerian church was imported to Ghana by way of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Turner, *History of an African Independent Church I*, 161-64, 169-171.

[187] Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey*, 19. See also Mertens 1999:195-197; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 28, 68, 113-28.

[188] For example, see Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 65-90, Turner 1963:2-6; Saah, "African Independent Movements," 55-64; Daniel Avorgbedor, "Cultural Display and the Construction of Ethnic Identities in a Contemporary Independent Church: The Apostolic Revelation Society," *Conference on Holidays, Ritual, Festival, Celebration, and Public Display* http://aaas.ohi-state.edu/dka/ars.htm (May 29-31, 1997): 1-8; Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (New York: Orbis Books, 1989), 180-209; John S. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity* (Nairobi:

the eight causative factors discussed by Barrett.[189] From another view point, and following Sundkler's classification of these movements into two (the Ethiopian and Zionist), some scholars including Browne, Silva and Lanternari, in efforts to explain the causes of the emergence of these churches, have classified those in Ghana into different movements.[190] In this regard, Pobee and Ositelu have remarked that "the historic churches have often applied *etic*[191] interpretations to AICs."[192] They therefore appealed for an *emic* approach.[193] It can be deduced from Baëta's work that "prophetism"[194] is the dominant causative factor;[195] and if pressed hard, it can be recognised that the *abisa* aspect of "prophetism" is the major attraction of these churches. *Abisa* (divinatory-consultation) comes into focus before, after or during exorcism and healing. This becomes evident in the following discussion.

Oxford University Press, 1986), 28-31; Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary*, 112; Allan H. Anderson, "'A Failure in Love?' Western Missions and the Emergence of African Initiated Churches in the Twentieth Century," *Missiology: An International Review* XXIX, no. 3 (2001): 276-86.

[189] David B. Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), 92-99. These are historical, political, economical, sociological, ethnic, non-religious, religious and theological. Cf. Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 70-104; Turner, "African Prophet Movements," 6.

[190] The classifications include the separatist, nativistic, revivalist, syncretistic, prophetic and reformative movements. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 53-55; Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 105-25; José Antunes da Silva, "African Independent Churches: Origin and Development," *Anthropos* 88 (1993): 393-94, 393-402; Vittorio Lanternari, *Dei, Profeti, Contadini Incontri Nel Ghana*, 1-21, trans. not named. English Translation at Harold Turner Collection, University of Birmingham (Naples, 1988), 1-21. See also Pobee and Ositelu, *African Initiatives in Christianity*, 26-33.

[191] The effort to study behaviour using criteria that are "external to the system" under study; Kenneth L. Pike, "Etic and Emic Standpoints for the Description of Behaviour," in *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader*, Russell T. McCutcheon, ed. (London: Cassell, 1999), 29-30.

[192] Pobee and Ositelu , *African Initiatives in Christianity*, 2.

[193] The approach is that which reads the story of those under study through the eyes of the actors and participants. Pobee and Ositelu, *African Initiatives in Christianity*, 3.

[194] Baëta's description of 'prophetism,' quoted already brings this point out, especially considering his strong emphasis that "prophetism appears to me to be a perennial phenomenon of African life." Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 6-7.

[195] Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 3-4. For such discussions see sources already cited in this section.

4.2 Exorcism

Healing and exorcism are the central of attractions of prophetism. The methods used in healing and exorcism differ from one church to another. However, there are some commonalities. Almost all of them have healing camps (also called gardens or centres). Similarities arise from Daneel's reports about the Zionist and Apostolic churches among the Southern Shona,[196] where special days, usually Fridays, are set aside for this ritual. Depending upon the revelation the prophet may have, clients, on their initial consultation with the prophets, may be given "a prescription of fasting" for some days. As Oosthuizen also observes in South Africa, such initial diagnosis may be obtained through dreams or visions.[197] The focus of all procedures in diagnostic activities is to find out the causation of clients' problems. This is similar to the diagnostic prophetic activities of indigenous Pentecostal-type churches, which Anderson depicts in South Africa.[198] Such diagnostic activities are closely bound up with the personalities of the leaders who are able to carry out their activities with the strong conviction that God has called them to such ministry. Furthermore, in addition to the exorcistic activities of these churches, as Turner observes in the whole of Africa,[199] the majority of them use aids such as olive oil, crosses, incense, ritualistic bath, water and florida water,[200] but

[196] M. L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches Volume 2: Church Growth-Causative Factors and Recruitment Techniques* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1974), 201-14.
[197] G. C. Oosthuizen, "Diviner-Prophet Parrallels in the African Independent and Traditional Churches and Traditional Religion," G. C. Oosthuizen and Irving Hexham, eds. (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 173.
[198] Allan Anderson, "African Pentecostalism and the Ancestor Cult: Confrontation or Compromise?" *Missionalia* 21, no. 1 (April 1993): 128-29, 26-39. See also Allan H. Anderson, "The Lekganyanes and Prophecy in the Zion Christian Church," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXIX, no. 3 (1999): 301-304.
[199] Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements* (Boston: G. K. Halls, 1979), 167.
[200] This is some sort of perfume which comes from the US. It is believed to have some curative powers.

without any indigenous herbs.[201] However, in Ghana others use these aids in addition to the native herbs or western medicine.[202]

The ritualistic procedures of exorcism are of two types, those that follow the Twelve Apostles' pattern and then all others. The prominence of the Twelve Apostles churches no doubt dates from their founding leaders' (Tani's and Nackabah's) association with Harris. However, as Breidenbach observes, the work that they carried out "was a product of their own ritual innovations, religious interpretations, and organizational abilities."[203] The two procedures are described below:

4.2.1 Water Carrying as Exorcism

The procedure adopted by the Twelve Apostles is water carrying. The ritual usually takes place on Fridays, in a healing garden, where a wooden cross has been planted. The sick and needy people are asked to carry water in basins on their heads, while looking at the sun, and move to the front of the congregation. The prophet lifts a cup of water in the sky and prays.[204] In prayer, he commands or invokes spirits to come and

[201] For example, see Kofi Asare Opoku, "Letters to a Spiritual Father," *Research Review* 7, no. 1 (1970): 1532; Robert W. Wyllie, "Perceptions of the Spiritist Churches: A Survey of Methodists and Roman Catholics in Winneba, Ghana," *Journal of African Religion* XV, no. 2 (1985): 157, 142-67; Leith Mullings, "Religious Changes and Social Stratification in Labadi, Ghana: The Church of the Messiah," in *African Christianity: Patterns of Religious Continuity*, George Bond , Johnson Walton and S. Sheila Walker, eds. (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 78-79.
[202] Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 91, Cf. Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 101.
[203] Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 582. For instance, while Harris (so were Swatson and Oppong) majored on the itinerant ministry of preaching the word and exorcising, the Twelve Apostles established healing gardens and from there practised healing and exorcism.
[204] The exorcist can either be male or female, but, since among the Akan the common word referred to such people is ɔdiyifoɔ (prophet), for the sake of simplicity I shall use the word "prophet" and the male pronoun "he" in reference to both male and female in this thesis, unless the term "prophetess" is used in a specific way.

rest on the water in the basins and also to possess people.[205] As the rest of the people sing and play on gourd rattles, the prophet and his assistants move in and out among the participants. Those who begin to show signs of possession, for example jerking, are interrogated by one of them to find out the cause and type of disease. The interrogator will then dip his hands in the disturbed water and rub the areas of complaint. Sometimes, the rubbing or touching of the clients is accompanied by gestures, such as severe shaking and jumping which signify proof of exorcism. As the singing goes on, many of the water-carriers continue to shiver violently, move forward and backward and then begin to go around in circles.[206] Some of the clients lose their balance and fall. However, they are assisted by some helpers to get up and begin the process again. If any of the water remains in the basin after some had spilt out, it becomes the medicine for curing the disease of the client who carried the water. Contrariwise, if no possession took place, that is, if no movement was made or no part of the water spilt out, the carrier had no medicine for his disease. However, the process can be repeated until possession takes place. Some clients testify to healing through this process.[207]

This ritual of "healing and exorcism" demonstrates the combination of Harris's ministry, the Akan traditional *akɔm* (possession) and the indirect use of

[205] Paul S. Breidenbach, "*Sunsum Edwuma*: The Limits of Classification and the Sigincance of Event," *Social Research* 46, no. 1 (1979): 67, 63-87.
[206] The sort of gesticulation here is similar to what Rev. Shembe, the Zulu, describes to Sundkler about the nature of his exorcism. Sundkler, *Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists*, 174; see also Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 228-31.
[207] Lanternari, *Dei, Profeti, Contadini Incontri Nel Ghana*, 1-4; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 20-21; Paul S Breidenbach, "The Holy Place: Twelve Apostles Healing Gardens," *African Arts* 11, no. 4 (1978): 28-35; Paul S Breidenbach, "Ritual Interrogation and the Communication of Belief in a West Africa Religious Movement," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 9, no. 2 (1978): 95-107; Breidenbach, "*Sumsum Edwuma*," 63-87; Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 593-95.

psychoanalysis.[208] The ritual, which is always done in a garden where a cross has been planted and begins by the lifting up of a cup, is a reinterpretation of Harris, who carried a cross along and began his baptism with the lifting up of a cup of water to the sky.[209] The special day for the ritual, the camp, and the carrying of basin on the head follow that of Akan *bosom* (a god) which had to be carried in a basin on the head of the *ɔkɔmfoɔ*, on *abisada* (consultation day), at the shrine, before *akɔm* (possession) took place.[210] With the notion that the disease or problem is brought about by witchcraft or an evil spirit, the concept of *abisa* (divination) is applied, just like the *ɔkɔmfoɔ*, to know the mysterious cause of the disease or problem and so deal with it by expelling the spirit (or witch behind it), through the psychotherapeutic application of water. In this situation, *abisa* is likened to psychoanalysis where the psychoanalysts extract information from their patients and deal with them. The prophet also induces this hypnotised state in his clients, as they go round in circles in possessed states.[211]

In this regard this psychological methodology,[212] though following that of the traditional ways, shows some differences. For instance, whereas in the traditional way, it is the *ɔkɔmfoɔ* (the priest) who goes into possession, gives prognostication and shows

[208] In defining psychoanalysis Rycroft shows that "the key defining concepts are (a) **free association**, which replaced **hypnosis**; (b) **interpretation**, which replaced suggestion; and (c) **transference**." He then continues that "psychoanalytical technique consists essentially in instructing and helping both his associations and the obstacles he encounters in trying to associate, and interpreting his feelings and attitudes towards the analyst." Charles Rycroft, *A Critical Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, 1968, Second Edition (London: Penguin, 1995); 143. Whenever the terms "psychoanalysis" and "psychology" are used in the thesis in connection with the Traditional religion, Spiritual churches, Pentecostal or Charismatic churches, they will not be referring to the professional use of the terms, but the indirect use of such methodologies.
[209] Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 78 Shank 1994:177-178.
[210] See Chapter Two, section 2.5.
[211] Normally people who go round in circles feel dizzy.

how to be cured, here it is the clients who become possessed and tell the causes of the diseases. Yet the role of the prophet must not be underestimated. It is his presence and diagnostic ability that makes *abisa* (divination) possible. Again the prophet should be able to interpret what is happening to the people gathered and demonstrate a masterly control of spiritual matters. The reverse of the Akan traditional possession of the *akɔmfoɔ*, to the possession of the client, might have been altered as a result of Harris' practices; for many people who touched Harris' cross appeared to fall into in a possessed state.[213] Moreover, unlike the *akɔmfoɔ* (priests) who usually give out herbs to their clients, after predictions, only water is used as medication. Here again, the use of water and the lifting up of the clients' eyes to the sun seem to be a reinterpretation of Harris' practice of lifting a cup of water to the sky during his baptism. Water stirred through the possession of a spirit is thus considered able to deal with all types of problems.[214]

4.2.2 Ritualistic Prayer as Exorcism

The procedure of exorcism in the other Spiritual churches is ritualistic prayer.[215] This usually takes place on Friday, at the camp or chapel, while the people are fasting. Those participants who have earlier confessed to witchcraft to the prophet are requested to confess in public all that they have done, reveal their *ahoboa* (the names of their

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[212] Psychology is traditionally defined as the "the science of the mind" or "the science of behaviour." Rycroft, *A Critical Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, 144.
[213] Haliburton, *The Prophet Harris*, 78; Shank, *Prophet Harris*, 177-78.
[214] This is similar to the stirring of water in the pool of Bethesda in John 5:1-11. The difference is that while the water of Bathesda was a pool that was supposed to be stirred by an angel, this one is water in basins that is supposed to be stirred through spirit possession.
[215] All others include churches such as the Musama Disco Christo Church, the African Faith Tabernacle Congregation and the Church of Messiah.

witch-spirit animals) and submit their witchcraft objects.[216] The prophet then calls those who are sick and have special needs, such as barrenness and failure in business, to join the above mentioned to the front of the congregation. Thereafter, the congregation sings and claps to the rhythm of drumming. Some prophets hold sticks in their hands and move in and out among both the participant and the rest of the congregation. As the singing and drumming continue, others who have not come forward for exorcism or healing begin to shake or jerk. These are considered manifestations of witches or possession. Such persons are brought forward to join those seeking exorcism. Some prophets may sprinkle water on them. As the atmosphere builds up, the leader and his assistants begin to speak in some sort of tongues, recite some incantations, invoke spirits to come and assist, and then command the spirits to leave.[217] People begin to shake, jump, shout, clawl on the ground or dance violently. These are taken as signs of evil spirits, which do not want to leave. These attract interrogation by the prophet or one of his assistants to find out the cause of the problem. Some prophets may anoint them with oil or sprinkle water on the clients to silence them. The response to this may last for a short period. This sort of ritualistic prayer continues until the pandemonium is minimised. The prophet may then ask some to testify to what they have experienced. To this many claim to have received deliverance. Thereafter he assures them of God's deliverance and discharges them.[218]

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[216] Cf. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 157-58.

[217] Opoku Mensah, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Kumasi, August 6, 1997; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 158-59.

[218] Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 54-58, 113-15; Mullings, "Religious Change," 65-88; Wyllie, "Perceptions of the Spiritist Churches," 143-63; Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, 149-62; Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 370-77.

The approach of these other Spiritual churches demonstrates a blend of Christian faith and traditional practices. Just like the Twelve Apostles, the camps and special day follow that of the traditional *abisa da* (day of consultation) of *abosom* (the gods). Furthermore, the confession of sins, singing of witch-songs, revealing the names of witch-spirit animals and submission of witchcraft objects for destruction all replace the anti-witchcraft shrines practices.[219] Fasting, prayer[220] and commands appear to be a reinterpretation of Jesus' dealing with the demoniacs in the gospels.[221] However, there are some differences between these and those of Jesus. Firstly there is the use of psychology which is not only intended for exorcism, but is also used, perhaps unintentionally, to plant the idea of witchcraft to sanguine types of people or the highly suggestible people among the congregation. This is begun through the listening to the confessions and practices of alleged witches and is effected through the singing, drumming and the moving around by the prophet. Secondly there is the indirect use of magical methodologies, indicated in the use of stick, incantation and invocation, which are followed by a command.[222] In all the processes of this procedure, *abisa* (divination) is still the central role. This is first shown in the initial consultation with the prophet, which aims at the desire to know the mysterious cause of the problem, so that the prophet will be able to exorcise the forces behind the problem. Again *abisa* (consultation) is employed, as the prophet engages in a diagnostic treatment with people who become violent in the process of exorcism.

[219] See Chapter Two, section 3.5.3.
[220] Fasting and praying is greatly based upon Jesus teaching in Matthew 17:21 in the Authorised version which is also in the old Akuapem (Akan) version.
[221] E. g. Mk 5:1-20.
[222] Here, magic is being understood as that defined by Arnold, "a method of manipulating supernatural powers to accomplish certain tasks with guaranteed results." C. E. Arnold, "Magic," in *Dictionary of*

The ritualistic exorcisms of these churches enhanced by the giving of aids certainly strengthen the *sunsum* (personality-spirit) of those who are fearful of witchcraft and other threatening forces, so that they can face life with little fear.[223]

4.3 Decline of the Spiritual Churches

With the incorporation of traditional practices into Christianity, especially as they claim to deal with witchcraft-related problems, the Spiritual churches constitute an attempt to adapt Christianity to the particular needs of Ghanaians. The observation of Sundkler about the Zulu is relevant here; he states, "the most pressing need was the promise of health and abundant life through methods he could understand."[224] For instance, when the Government of Ghana found it necessary to keep the anti-witchcraft shrines within limits, their activities resurfaced within the Spiritual churches, whose methods could be understood.[225] Against this background a number of scholars, including Beckmann,[226] Baëta[227] Brown,[228] and Asamoah-Gyadu[229] have acknowledged the contributions that the Spiritual churches have made to Ghanaian Christianity. However, just like other new movements, there were many other things which caused the populace to be alarmed and seek "deliverance" from these churches. The concerns and accusations of the

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Paul and His Letters, Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin and Daniel G. Reid, eds. (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 580.

[223] The Akan believe that witches cannot overcome people with *sunsum εyε den*, (strong personality-spirit. See Chapter Two, section 3. 4.

[224] Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 236.

[225] See Chapter Two, section 3.5.4.2 under point iii.

[226] Beckmann, *Eden Revival*, 111-31.

[227] Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 135.

[228] Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 370.

[229] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 50-89.

masses were often reflected in newspapers articles.[230] The charges levelled against them include sexual promiscuity,[231] exploitation,[232] false miracles,[233] accusing people of witchcraft[234] and the employment of *abosom* in the name of the Christian God.[235] Among scholars who have discussed these accusations in their works are Beckmann,[236] Browne[237] and Asamoah-Gyadu.[238] While, in some cases the investigators feel the allegations were quite weak,[239] the general consensus tallies with Asamoah-Gyadu's conclusion that "some of these accusation were based on the genuine stories of victims."[240]

Thus the popular opinion about the Spiritual churches became similar to those they had about the anti-witchcraft shrines. The allegations levelled against the Spiritual churches

[230] For instance see, the article by unnamed person captioned "Spiritual Churches: Who will Deliver Us," which, as the title implies, was calling for deliverance from the menace of the Spiritual churches. *Daily Graphic* (Accra), 21 May, 1976, 5.
[231] Albert Watson, "Menace of Spiritual Churches," *Daily Graphic* (Accra), May 1976, 5: 5; Jessie Jones, "Don't Condemn the Power of the Spiritual Churches," *Christian Messenger* (Accra), November 1971, 5: 5.
[232] Adjoa Yeboah-Afari, "Now the School Profiteers," in *Thoughts of a Native Daughter: A Collection of Most of the Articles from the Popular Mirror Column, 1976-1986* (Accra, 1988), 8. In this editorial, Yeboah-Affari shows that the three quickest ways of making money were to sell drinks, to establish a church or to establish a preparatory school. Editorial Comment, "Beware of These Gospel Mercenaries," *Christian Messenger* (Accra), September 1981, 2: 2.
[233] Peter P. Dery, "Traditional Healing and Spiritual Healing in Ghana," *Ghana Bulletin of Theology* 4, no. 4 (1973): 53-54, 53-64.
[234] Beckmann, *Eden Revival*, 55; see also Breidenbach1 1979:599.
[235] D. K. Fiawoo, "From Cult to 'Church:' A Study of Some Aspects of Religious Changes in Ghana," *Ghana Journal of Sociology* 4, no. 2 (1968): 72-89; Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 599.
[236] Beckmann, *Eden Revival*, 54-56.
[237] Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 83-85.
[238] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 91-135.
[239] For instance, on accusation against Grace Tani on exploitation and accusing people of witchcraft, Breidenbach remarks that through his research, the accusations were usually made by clerks educated in mission schools, which "seem very defensive about what they see as 'crude' aspects of the movement." Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 598. In a similar way, Beckmann feels an allegation of witchcraft accusation made against Yeboah Koree, the leader of the Eden Revival was on political grounds. Beckmann, *Eden Revival*, 55.
[240] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 133; cf. Browne, "A Study of Spiritual Churches in Ghana," 85.

went even further than those against the anti-witchcraft shrines *akɔmfoɔ*, since sexual impropriety was not a case against the "pagan."[241] Thus, although, as Baëta observes, "the 'spiritual churches' represent a turning away from these traditional resources of supernatural succour in order that help may be sought, for the same purposes, from the God proclaimed in the Christian evangel,"[242] yet the notion of "turning away" is questionable. Questionable in the sense that just as some of the "shrines" or the *akɔmfoɔ* were taken to courts and dealt with, on the grounds of accusing people indecently for their dealing with witchcraft issues, so were some of these churches.[243]

Consequently, despite the contributions which the Spiritual churches have made to Christianity, these accusations damaged their images and the churches began to decline.[244] People did not stop visiting these churches in time of crises for *abisa* or some prognostications, just as they did with the traditional shrines, since they felt some predictions would be better to release the perplexities of life rather than none. This affirms Burnett's observation that "divination enables the people to cope with complex

[241] On the strength of this and other similar accusations against other Christians, many Ghanaians assume that Christianity has weakened traditional moral lives. For instance, Professor Nukunya records that, "in a study on marriage and adultery, it was found that adultery occurs much less frequently among the traditional believers than Christians." Nukunya, *Tradition and Change*, 128; cf. Nketsia, "The Effect of Christian Missionary," 382, 448.
[242] Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 135.
[243] For example, see Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 600-01; Beckmann, *Eden Revival*, 55.
[244] The decline of the Spiritual churches is a main argument of David Burnett's thesis. He contends that the innovation of African traditions resulted in a form of contextualisation that was inflexible, so that the church was unable to adapt to social change and has become less relevant. The former members are now seeking a more relevant charisma of the Holy Spirit in other churches. The illiterate members prefer the Pentecostal churches, and the educated younger generation are attracted to the newer Charismatic churches. Burnett, "Charisma and Community," 254-65. 290-94. See also Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 91-135.

situations."[245] However, the impact and influence of the Spiritual churches were greatly weakened and this was to pave the way for the prominence of CoP in the history of Christianity in Ghana.

5 THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

5.1 Origin

The origin of classical Pentecostal churches in Ghana can remotely be traced to Peter Anim, who, upon receipt of a magazine from the Faith Tabernacle Church in 1917,[246] claimed he was healed of guinea worm and chronic stomach trouble.[247] As a result of his healing, he began preaching healing in Jesus' name. Consequently, a new movement began. His desire to know more about the baptism of the Holy Spirit finally linked him with the Apostolic Church of Bradford (AC),[248] England, which eventually sent Pastor & Mrs. James McKeown to assist him in 1937. CoP traces its origin to the ministry begun by McKeown at Asamankese, Ghana, in 1937.[249]

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[245] David Burnett, *World of Spirits: A Christian Perspective on Traditional and Folk Religions* (Grenville Place: Monarch Books, 2000), 117.

[246] The magazine was called *Sword of the Spirit*. Peter Anim, *The History of how Full Gospel Church was Founded in Ghana* (Accra: CAC, n. d.), 1. Faith Tabernacle Church of Philadelphia in the United States was not a Pentecostal movement in the strictest sense, but combined an emphasis on healing with its primary aim of cultivating and protecting the inner holiness of the sect as a distinctive community. For further reading on a good background of this sect, Turner, *History of an African Independent Church I*, 10-26; Peel, *Aladura*, 63-71.

[247] Anim, *History of Full Gospel*, 1.

[248] The thesis adopts the abbreviation "AC" for "The Apostolic Church" which has its mission headquarters at Bradford in UK.

[249] Anim, *History of Full Gospel*, 8; Christine Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana: 3000 Churches in 50 Years-The Story of James McKeown and the Church of Pentecost* (Chichester: New Wine Press, 1989.), 27; Thomas N. Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought: A Short History of the Apostolic Church* (Bradford: Puritan Press Ltd., 1959), 85. It is noteworthy to observe that due to a break by McKeown from the

5.2 The Role of Pastor James McKeown

5.2.1 His Background

James McKeown was born on 12 September, 1900 in Glenboig, Scotland.[250] At the age of nineteen, he accepted Christ into his life, in Ballymena.[251] Later, in an attempt to find a job, McKeown returned to Scotland and settled in Glasgow, where he joined AC.[252] Hollenweger describes AC as a church that "gives greater play to the gifts of the Spirit."[253] AC developed an organisation structure which Walker (and similar to Wyllie) describes as "the most authoritarian and hierarchical organisation within British Pentecostalism."[254] Besides, they held to "an ethical rigorism"; drinking alcohol and smoking were prohibited and members who were found making a practice of going to

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Apostolic Church, which will be discussed later, Turnbull fails to mention his (McKeown's) name in his work.

[250] His parents originally come from County Antrim, Northern Ireland. Shortly after his birth in Glenboig, McKeown's parents moved to Coatbridge, a steel manufacturing town near Glasgow. Here his father, who had been a member of the Presbyterian Church in Antrim, became interested in Pentecostalism and in 1908 joined the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance (present Elim Pentecostal Church) in 1908. Robert W. Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: Peter Anim and James McKeown," *Journal of Religion in Africa* VI, no. 2 (1974): 113, 109-22; Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 11-12.

[251] At the age of eleven, the McKeown's family moved to Tullynahinion in County Antrim, where James McKeown had to leave school in order to help his father on the farm. During this period, the McKeown's home is said to have become the centre of Pentecostal activities in the area. George Jeffreys, the founder of the Elim Pentecostal Church, and Smith Wigglesworth are said to be among the Pentecostals who came there to minister. Ballymena was the McKeown's local market town. Later Ballymena became James Mckeown's hometown where he resided after his retirement. Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 11-14, 161.

[252] Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 19. The Apostolic Church has its birth in the Welsh revival. It was considered a splinter group led by D. P. Williams from the Apostolic faith, formerly Emmanuel Mission Hall founded by W. O. Hutchinson in 1909 at Bournemouth, Wales. It had its Headquarters at Penygroes, its Mission Headquarters at Bradford and its Finance Centre in Glasgow; James E. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain: With a Breviate of Its Early Missionary Endeavours* (Thorndon: Julian Literature Trust, 1991), 91, 151-52; Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought*, 20, 30.

[253] Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1972), 192. For example, in the Apostolic Church men were called through prophecy to be apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers. Others were called to the offices of elders and deacons. Women were called as deaconesses.

[254] Andrew Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom: The Reading Christianity of the House Church Movement*, 1985, Third Impression (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1986), 241. Cf. Wyllie 1974:114; cf. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 191.

questionable places and falling to open sins were to be disciplined.[255] The structure and the practices were to have great influence on CoP.

5.2.2 Call to Mission

McKeown's call to mission work in Ghana came to him through a prophetic message by an inter-area Prophet in 1935.[256] He had reservations about the manner in which such directive prophecies were uttered and, therefore, refused to respond until 1937 after both his wife and he were certain that it was the will of God. McKeown's hesitance about directive prophecy was that "as he grew closer to the inner circle, he came to believe that so-called directive prophecies were manufactured to fit in decisions which men had already made."[257] He intones, "I found out that they were using Prophets and prophecy to carry on their own design, 'the hands being the hands of Esau and the voice being the voice of Jacob.'"[258] What McKeown did not know at the time was that it was this kind of "prophetism" that was going to enhance his future ministry.[259]

Leaving his wife behind, McKeown set off for Ghana and arrived on 7 March 1937.[260] He was met by Anim and some of his followers, who escorted him to Asamankese.

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[255] Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 192, 290-93.

[256] McKeown had refused to affirm the first constitution produced by the Apostolic Church in 1935, because of its defined scope of ministry of inter-area, area, district and assembly prophets, each with his sphere of authority. Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 114; cf. The Apostolic Church, *The Apostolic Church: Its Principles and Practices* (Bradford: Apostolic Publications, 1937), 393-94

[257] Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 20.

[258] Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 114.

[259] This was going to be part of the legacy he would leave for the Church of Pentecost.

[260] Wyllie and Larbi date it as 2 March. Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 114; Kingsley Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: A Study in the Appropriation of the Christian Gospel in the 20th Century Ghana Setting with Special Reference to the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost Etc." (Ph. D. Diss., Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, 1995), 94. Leonard also dates it as 4 March; Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 27.

Larbi has shown that before McKeown arrived, Anim's movement had already assumed the following characteristics: strong emphasis on prayer, belief in divine healing without recourse to any form of medicine either preventive or curative, strong evangelistic ethos and the experience of speaking in tongues.[261] In this regard Anim may be regarded as the father of classical Pentecostalism in Ghana. Although these practices by Anim's group may be regarded as paving a smooth way for McKeown to begin his work, it was Anim's strong adherence to one of these beliefs, divine healing without the use of any medicine, that caused division between him and his missionary.[262] Eventually in June 1939, Anim and his followers ended their affiliation with AC and named their organisation "Christ Apostolic Church."[263]

But on the only recorded documentary interview of McKeown on video, he sets his arrival on 7 March, 1937. James McKeown, Interview by Norman Christie, May 1986, Ballymena, Video Recording.

[261] Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 93.

[262] Anim, *History of Full Gospel*, 9; Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 94; Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 31; Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 115. It happened that McKeown himself became ill with malaria and was finally hospitalised through the help of the Colonial District Commissioner. Meanwhile Anim had taught that in case of illness believers should trust God only for healing (Anim, *History of Full Gospel*, 9). Yet Anim, Larbi and Wyllie report that Anim accompanied McKeown. Leonard, speaking from McKeown and the Church of Pentecost's perspective omitted this part. However, Anim's accompaniment of McKeown to the hospital was a severe blow to him, since his accompaniment nullified his faith and teaching. He must have accompanied McKeown only as a result of the Ghanaian gesture of etiquette to people, especially to strangers. Kwame Gyekye, *African Cultural Values* (Accra: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1996), 175-76.

[263] According to Anim, prefixing the name "Christ" to the "Apostolic Church" was given through prophecy in Akan as "*Kristo Asomafo Asore*" (Anim, *History of Full Gospel*, 12). Anim had established fellowship with the Apostolic churches in Nigeria since the Faith Tabernacle era. It was Pastor Odubanjo, the head of the Faith Tabernacle in Nigeria, who wrote to the Apostolic in Wales, and then informed Anim about their representatives' intended visit to West Africa in 1931 (Anim, *History of Full Gospel*, 4). Meanwhile, the brothers in Nigeria were encountering a similar problem with medication; the taking of quinine by George Perfect, the Apostle in charge of the Apostolic Church in Nigeria. Finally in 1941/42, a group led by Pastor Odubanjo and Babalola broke away from the Apostolic Church, and decided to adopt the name Christ Apostolic Church (Peel dates it as 13 July 1941, while Adegboyega puts it in 1942. Peel, *Aladura*, 112; S. G. Adegboyega, *Short History of the Apostolic in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Rosprint Industrial Press, 1978), 135). Turnbull picks on polygamy as a major issue in the matter, but Vaughan, who was one of the missionaries to Nigeria at the time and Oshun, a Nigerian church historian, both strongly reject this assumption. Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought*, 77; Idris J. Vaughan, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church : Pentecostalism in Nigeria 1931-52* (Great Britain: Ipswich Book

5.2.3 McKeown's Encounter with the Twelve Apostles

A delegation from the Twelve Apostles came to visit McKeown in Akroso in December 1938. According to the delegates, Harris had said before he left Ghana that a white man would come and teach them; they saw the fulfilment of this prophecy in the coming of McKeown. McKeown reported his encounter with this church in an article he sent to the *Herald of Grace*, in 1939.[264] In this article, he paid tribute to Harris for his evangelistic work. He realised that as most of the leaders were uneducated and knew little of the Bible, during the waiting period, "they erred somewhat and strayed from the right pathway; but they hungered and thirsted for God and desired to be filled by the Spirit." Of Pastor John Nackabah, one of the leaders, McKeown remarked, "a man seeking after God with whole heart."[265] But McKeown found it difficult to teach them, as they had requested. As implied in McKeown's article, he was not happy about some of their practices when he initially visited and ministered among them for six weeks. An inquiry into the work of Leonard, who reports from McKeown's perspective, shows that the major problem was nothing more than their innovative ritualistic exorcisms.[266] McKeown was advised by his interpreter, Brother Asomani, who later became a Pastor, that he should not interfere. But McKeown was shocked when during the exorcism, a good looking and a nicely dressed girl finally took off nearly all her clothes and lay on the ground.[267] He spoke to himself, "what am I doing here watching all this."[268] Later

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Company, 1991), 22; Christopher Olubunmi Oshun, "Christ Apostolic Church of Nigeria, 1918-1978" (Ph. D. Diss., Exeter College, The University of Oxford, 1981), 53-54.

[264] McKeown, "Gathering Gold in the Gold Coast," 41.

[265] McKeown, "Gathering Gold in the Gold Coast." 41.

[266] Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 77-81. See section 4.2.1 above.

[267] Eunice Addison, "Interview by Author," Tape recording, Accra, September 20, 1999. Mrs Addison is the daughter of the first General Women Leader and was herself the General Women Leader over twenty years. Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 79. Unless participants are closely observed and monitored, even currently, this sort of action takes place in Pentecostals and Charismatic deliverance meetings.

he concluded that the kinds of fornication and polygyny existing in the church resulted partly from this type of practice.[269] When McKeown began to teach, as he used to do, about one man, one wife, confusion started which eventually led to a break between them.[270]

Thus from McKeown's account it was the issue of exorcism and polygyny which led to the break. However, the accounts of Breidenbach and Baëta who also report of this "clash," from the Twelve Apostles Churches' perspective, differ from McKeown's version.[271] On the surface, they pick on the use of rattles as a central issue; they state that McKeown attempted to substitute tambourines for rattles.[272] Nonetheless, a deeper look into Breidenbach's works betrays this assumption. Clearly Breidenbach shows that it was the issues of leadership[273] and ritualistic exorcism[274] that caused the dispute. For example, in reporting from Grace Tani's grandson, he writes, "so they were all foolish to hand over the church to this James McKeown. But my grandmother refused.

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[268] Eunice Addison, Interview by Author; cf. Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 79.
[269] Eunice Addison, Interview by Author; cf. Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 79.
[270] Eunice Addison, Interview by Author; cf. Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 79.
[271] Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 604-09; Breidenbach, "Leadership and Adepthood in the Twelve Apostles Movement of Ghana," 111-13; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 16. Scholaristic writing has always followed these accounts which are available to them.
[272] Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 112; Baëta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 16.
[273] Regarding leadership according to Breidenbach, McKeown intended to attach educated people to help in teaching the people and he also attempted to change the name to the Apostolic Church. Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 604-09. Breidenbach, "Leadership and Adepthood in the Twelve Apostles Movement of Ghana," 111-13.
[274] Grace Tani's complaint was that for McKeown to attempt to exorcise a "demon" from one of her prophetess meant she (Grace Tani) was a witch. For she had given her assistant the craft. Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 604-09.

She told me, 'look my grandson, I did not sell my church to a white man. I did not give away the gold plate that was given to me.'"[275]

5.2.4 Mission Policy

Right from the beginning he wanted the Church to be indigenous with Ghanaian culture, ministry and finance.[276] He mentioned that "it would be difficult to grow an 'English oak' in Ghana. A local 'species,' at home in its culture, should grow, reproduce and spread: a church with foreign roots was more likely to struggle."[277] To achieve this goal of indigenisation, McKeown's philosophy was "just to evangelise"[278] and make the people know God.[279] He said "once we have a strong Church of people who really know Jesus and the Holy Spirit, then everything else will follow."[280] McKeown's view was typical of the Pentecostals of the period as indicated in the writings of some Pentecostal missiologists, such as Hodges and Pomerville.[281] Hodges, for example,

[275] Breidenbach, "Maame Harris Grace Tani and Papa Kwesi Nackabah," 607. This is an Akan expression showing that she had kept the family inheritance, which also implies that the Church was seen as a family property.

[276] His principles were very similar to the "Indigenous Policy" (self-supporting, self-propagation and self-government), as first set forth by Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn, and later developed and re-defined by others including Roland Allen (Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims*, Third Edition (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1874), 48, 60-61, 109-10, 113; Wilbert R. Shenk, *Henry Venn-Missionary Statesman* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1983), 25-41,61, 109; Roland Allen, *Missionary Method: St Paul or Ours?* 1912, American edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962).Whether or not McKeown was aware of this policy is not clear. Many scholars, including Hollenweger, Spittler and McGee, point out that Pentecostals have been influenced by Allen's Missionary Method. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 298; Russell P. Spittler, "Implicit Values in Pentecostal Mission," *Missiology* 16, no. 4 (1988): 416; Gary B. McGee, "Power on High: Historical Perspective on the Radical Strategy in Missions," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of W. W. Menzies*, Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies, eds. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 212.

[277] Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 69.

[278] Cf. Debrunner, *Christianity in Ghana*, 325.

[279] Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 75-76.

[280] Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 76.

[281] Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*, 10; Pomerville, "The Pentecostal Growth," 153. Dempster shows that the situation has now changed considerably; Murray W. Dempster, "Evangelism, Social Concern, and the Kingdom of God," in *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, Murray A. Dempster, Klaus Byron D. and Douglas Petersen, eds. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 22.

stresses that "when the Evangelical community gathers strength, the Christians themselves show concern for the betterment of their own people."[282] Thus, the implication of McKeown's philosophy was that he was not going to build schools, hospitals or provide finance. The people who knew God were going to provide finance, build schools and hospitals and serve their nation in diverse ways.

5.3 Roles of Pioneering Converts and other Apostolic Missionaries

The early converts of McKeown[283] began to contextualise McKeown's message in culturally relevant ways to Ghanaians.[284] This was to have great impact on the Church and won many people to Christ. In 1938, Mrs. Christiana Obo, a wealthy Ghanaian woman, sold her jewellery to support the Church. She organised the women to pray and evangelise. Consequently the Women Movement was formed.[285] From time to time AC Head Quarters sent some missionaries to assist him, the contribution of such missionaries were also remarkable.[286] For example, to help evangelism the Witness Movement was formed in 1948 by Pastor Stanley Hammond, an Apostolic

[282] Melvin L. Hodges, "A Pentecostal's View of Mission Strategy," in *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecost Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century*, L. Grant McCIung, Jr. ed. (South Plainfield: Logos, 1986), 88.

[283] Among his early converts who became prominent were J. C. Quaye (first prophet) J. A .C. Anaman (Vice Chairman), J. E. Paintsil (first General Secretary), Mrs. Christiana Obo (first Woman's Leader), Mrs Eunice Addison (Second Woman's Leader), all from the Methodist church, and R.O. Hayford (first evangelist), from the Presbyterian church.

[284] For instance, they would preach that people who were baptised in the Holy Spirit did not need protection against witchcraft and evil powers, because the Spirit was not only upon them temporarily to protect, but also lives in them permanently to empower for service including the destruction of the evil forces. People began to pray for the Holy Spirit baptism, most importantly as a protection against *bayie* (witchcraft), power to witness and confront evil powers. Eunice Addison, "Interview by Author."

[285] This women, Mrs. Obo, led the movement from its inception in 1938 to 1974. Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 43.

[286] These missionaries were Pastor Stanley Hammond (1948-1953) C. B. Sercombe (1943-48, vice Superintendent), Adam McKeown, (James McKeown's brother, 1945-1948) and Albert Seaborne (1946-1953). Tenobi, *The Apostolic Church*, 11.

missionary.[287] Later, in 1972, when CoP affiliated with the Elim Pentecostal Church, Mrs. Margaret Mills introduced the Children Movement[288] to CoP.[289] In 1979, another movement, Pentecost Students and Association, was formed to cater for the needs of the students of the church.[290]

5.4 Characteristics of the Church

CoP subscribes to almost all the fundamental doctrines of faith of AC and other classical Pentecostals. These are written in the constitution of the Church and also on baptismal certificates. The articles include the Bible, the one true God, human beings' depraved nature, the Saviour, repentance, justification and sanctification. Others are the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, baptism, gifts and fruit of the Holy Spirit, afterlife, tithes and offering and divine healing.[291]

Eventually, a centralised structure emerged that is similar to AC in UK.[292] At the head comes the General Council, which consists of all ordained ministers of the church, area executive members, chairmen of boards and committees and movement directors. Following the General Council is the nine-man Executive Council that deals with the

[287] Cf. Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 91.
[288] This is the movement that ministers to the needs of Children.
[289] Mrs. Margaret Mills was the wife of the Elim Pentecostal missionary in Ghana from 1966 to 1982. Her husband, Pastor David Mills initiated the fellowship between Elim and the Church of Pentecost. See section 5.5 below.
[290] The was initiated by Brothers James S. Gyimah, Peter Ohene Kyei, Kwamena Paintsil, Isaac Anim, Joshua Adjabeng and Emmanuel Boate. The Executive Council asked an elder, Ntiri, to lead the group.
[291] The Church of Pentecost, *Final Review Constitution* (Accra, 1999), 1-3 cf. Apostolic 1937:18-19; Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, 96-102; Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 291-456. Perhaps because of the founder's (James McKeown's) experience with Peter Anim (see section 5.2. 2 above), the Church adds to its article of divine healing the statement, "however, the Church is not opposed to medication by qualified medical practitioners." The Church of Pentecost, *Draft Constitution*, 3.

administration of the Church. The area (and national) presbyteries, which are chaired by apostles and prophets, come after the Executive council. District presbyteries, headed by pastors, follow the area presbyteries. Last in the administration of the Church are the local presbyteries, headed by presiding elders. The structure has its weaknesses,[293] yet, as a whole, it seems to fit in with Ghanaian culture, especially that of the Akan with its various military organs.[294] The growth of the Church indicates that members seem to feel secure in its formality, accountability and disciplinary measures.

Worship in the Church is similar to other classical Pentecostals, with some cultural diversities. These include the giving of testimonies, praise, dancing, special time of prayer called "worship," preaching, offertory, announcements, closing prayer and benediction.[295] The Church has developed a form of worship, especially its songs, which have had an impact on Ghanaian society.[296] It could further be said that its form of worship has become paradigmatic to Ghanaian Pentecostal churches.[297]

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[292]Cf. The Apostolic Church, *The Apostolic Church*, 22-44; The Church of Pentecost, *Final Review Constitution*, 1-27.

[293] The weaknesses may include bureaucratic formalities, which may hamper progress and also breed traditions. Other weaknesses come out as the discussion follows in subsequent chapters.

[294] See Chapter Two, section 1.2.

[295] Cf. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 130,149,160.

[296] During one of such meetings Afua Kumah, the mother-in-law of one of the apostles, claiming to move by the Spirit, came forward and applied the names used in praise of a chief to the praise of God. Later her words were put into writing. See Afua Kumah, *Jesus of the Deep Forest*, trans. J. Kirby (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1981). Kwame Bediako, a Ghanaian theologian, uses Afua Kumah's words to show the sort of implicit theology, which is evident in African praises and prayer, although he does not acknowledge the contribution made by the Church of Pentecost in this area. Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh: Obis Books, 1995), 59.

[297] Beside the fact that many Ghanaians will confirm this (Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 68) same could further be substantiated by the reason that most of the leaders of the Charismatic churches were either members of, or affiliated with the Church of Pentecost. These include Ducan Williams (leader of Action Faith Church), Agyin Asare (Miracle Centre), Addae Mensah (Gospel Light International Church), Eric Kwapong and Dr Kingsley Larbi (two of the key leaders of Otabil's International Central Gospel Church, Kwapong resigned and started his own in 1996). Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), 76, 100; Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 269, 317.

The Church lays much emphasis on holiness to the extent which some Westerners may consider fundamentalism,[298] as Walker expresses that such "holiness spiritualities" are regarded as fundamentalism.[299] Yet its cultural relevance is shown in the way it has raised the image of CoP in Ghanaian society. Asamoah-Gyadu highlights this, "the Ghanaian public image of the CoP is that of a Church which is making up for some of the failures and weaknesses—particularly in the area of morality—which have come to be associated with the **Sunsum sorè** [Spiritual churches] and even the traditional mission churches."[300]

On finance, McKeown would not ask for any outside support. Basing his policy on AC's teaching on tithes and offerings,[301] he asked Ghanaians to use whatever local resources were available. By insisting on self-support, McKeown made the Church stand on its own feet right from its beginning; this stance continues to the present time.

Until 1971 there was no formal training for any of the Church's officers. Retreats for teaching and prayer are held from time to time by a pastor for his district officers and for ministers (including other officers) within an area by the area head. Bible School

[298] Basing their interpretation on some Scriptures as such as 1 Corinthians 3:16; 6:9, 19-20; Galatians 5:19-21 and John 2:15-17 members are taught that committed Christians do not smoke, drink, abuse drugs or visit pop music shows. Just like the Apostolic Church in Britain, members who fall victim in these areas are disciplined by suspension from membership. The Apostolic Church, *The Apostolic Church*, 290-93. Cf. Gerrie Ter Haar, "Standing for Jesus: A Survey of New Development in Christianity in Ghana," *Exchange* 23, no. 3 (1994): 225.

[299] Andrew Walker, "Fundamentalism and Modernity: The Restoration Movement in Britain," in *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*, Lionel Caplan, ed. (London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1987), 196. Hollenweger assesses similar prohibition of the Church of God as fundamentalism. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 50-54.

[300] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 126. Burnett also makes similar statement. Burnett, "Charisma and Community," 262.

had been introduced to the Church in 1953 when the Latter Rain Team visited Ghana, but it was abandoned in 1957.[302] It was Pastor David Mills, the Elim missionary adjoined to CoP,[303] who re-introduced Bible School to CoP in 1972. Pastor Mills' College also had to be closed down in 1975 and re-opened in 1981.[304] It is clear from the closing down of the schools that in time past CoP shared the view with other Pentecostals, as Hollenweger points out, "modern academic theology is a tragedy, whose fruit is empty churches."[305] As with other Pentecostals, the situation in CoP is changing. Currently full-time ministers spend nine-months training at the Church's Bible College, but the training that goes on in the Church can still be termed as "in-service" training.

5.5 The Break with The Apostolic Church in the UK[306]

McKeown might not have agreed with all the policies of AC but had no intention to break from them. Breaking was inevitable however, since McKeown had a very strong personality and was quite firm in his beliefs. The break followed a visit of the Latter Rain team from North America from 23 January to 13 February 1953.[307] The aftermath of their visits subsequently led to the re-affirmation of an amendment of the constitution of AC during the General Council-Quadrennial Conference in May 1953.[308]

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[301] The Apostolic Church, *The Apostolic Church*, 239-43.
[302] James McKeown, World Mission Training Centre, December 1, 1954; James McKeown, Circular Letter, November 29, 1957.
[303] See section 5.5. below.
[304] The Church of Pentecost, Winneba, General Council Minutes, March 12-18, 1975.
[305] Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 194.
[306] This was a major issue which has been dealt in detail by Larbi and Leonard. Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism,"153-86, Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 129-43.
[307] James McKeown, Circular Letter, January 6, 1953.
[308] David Tenobi, *A Short History of The Apostolic Church in Ghana* (Accra: Tenobi, 1985), 23. The council was composed of 54 apostles and prophets.

Meanwhile, McKeown had asked for an amendment of the revised constitution, since he had objected to it, but his request had been refused.[309] According to McKeown, the amendment sought to make it virtually impossible to invite an outside speaker. Besides, a black apostle could not exercise control over a white apostle, although a white apostle could exercise control over both whites and blacks.[310] All participants of the Council Meeting were required to reaffirm the amended constitution by standing.[311] To this, McKeown just like Martin Luther in the sixteenth century declared, "I cannot conscientiously accept this."[312] He was joined by Pastor Cecil Cousen.[313] Their reason was that this part of the revised constitution was unscriptural and discriminatory.[314] According to Worsfold, AC historian, the head of AC, President Hugh Dawson, responded, "this means that the two brethren are no longer pastors with us, and they are to hand in their ordination certificates forthwith, and no Apostolic platform in the world

[309] Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 138; Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 162.

[310] My attempt to obtain a copy of the 1953 Apostolic Church's constitution failed. According to Pastor Bryan Thomas, the Public Relations officer of the Apostolic Church in the UK, the revised constitution in the 1950's was unpopular and the 1937 edition of which I was given a copy, still stood unique. This remark suggests that there was a major problem with the constitution. Bryan Thomas, Birmingham, Personal Communication, November 11, 1999; cf. Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism." 162.

[311] The wording of the affirmation was, "I AFFIRM MY BELIEF IN THE TENETS OF THE CHURCH WHICH INVOLVES CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES AS EMBODIED IN THE CONSTITUTION SUBJECT TO THE AMENDMENT TO OUR PRACTICES WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE AND MAY YET BE MADE IN THE COUNCIL CONSTITUTION OF APOSTLES AND PROPHETS AS LED BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD FROM TIME TO TIME." Tenobi, *The Apostolic Church*, 25.

[312] Roland Herbert Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951), 185; cf. Tenobi, *The Apostolic Church*, 25.

[313] According to Worsfold, it was Pastor Cecil Cousen who first reacted. Pastor Cousen was the son of the missionary chairman of the Apostolic Church in Bradford. According to Worsfold, Pastor Cousen said that "I fully accept the tenets of the Apostolic Church, but I cannot accept the Constitution as it is at the present being administered in the United Kingdom." Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, 304. See also Peter Hocken, *Streams of Renewal: Origins and Early Development of the Charismatic Movement in Great Britain* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1986), 26. Pastor David Mills says that in his interview with Cousen, he confirmed the story as told by McKeown. David Mills, Mexborough, Personal Communication, November 28, 1998.

[314] Cf. Tenobi, *The Apostolic Church*, 22.

is available to them until further notice."[315] Considering themselves dismissed from the ministry of AC, they walked out of the meeting. Their dismissal was duly confirmed in the evening service of the same day, after they had handed in their ordination certificates. On hearing this in Ghana, the Executive Council led by the Acting Chairman, Pastor Anaman, convened an emergency meeting of all Pastors and General Deacons.[316] They resolved to break from AC in the UK, naming theirs "The Gold Coast Apostolic Church." They invited McKeown to return and lead this independent church. A copy of their resolution to secede was sent to the Apostolic Church in the UK. For some time it appeared as if all the members would stay with the new independent church. However, on the request (and organising ability) of one layman, Tenobi, AC sent in more missionaries and a few people re-joined them, maintaining the name "The Apostolic Church, Gold Coast."[317] The break developed to an open confrontation between the two churches.

This confrontation, which was intensified by some people's demand for an African Chairman in the wake of Ghana's Independence, became a matter of national importance.[318] The President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, became involved in 1962, resolving all the disputes and asking McKeown to choose a name to avoid confusion.

[315] Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, 304.
[316] At this time there were two Apostolic pastors in Ghana assisting McKeown. But it was Anaman, a Ghanaian who was the acting Chairman. James McKeown, Circular Letter, February 20, 1953.
[317] Tenobi was a lay leader. He was able to win some people to his side. See Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 164; Tenobi, *The Apostolic Church*, 29. Tenobi was later dismissed from the Apostolic Church for misappropriation of money. He started a new Church and linked it with the Elim Pentecostal Church. When Elim Pentecostal decided to link with CoP in 1971, Tenobi was left alone to handle his church. Mills, Personal Communication.
[318] The issue of an African Chairman was a major affair in the history of the Church, but for lack of space and focus, this thesis cannot cover it. Both Leonard and Larbi have given it enough coverage. See, Leonard, *A Giant in Ghana*, 141-143; Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 170-87.

On 1 August 1962, the Ghana Apostolic Church" became known as "The Church of Pentecost."[319] The majority of people remain with McKeown's organisation.[320]

Having split from AC, CoP continued to have relations with some of the Latter Rain ministers, inviting some to minister in Ghana and vice visa.[321] Beside the continuous visits of these including T. L. Osborn, books from Latter Rain writers like Franklin Hall and A. A. Allen circulated in the country.[322] There was also frequent correspondence between the two movements[323] and the Latter Rain movement led by Wyatt supported some American missionaries in Ghana, including Charles Berridge, Millford Grisham, Sydney Scholes, John Wenergreen and Stephen and Eleanor Westfall. After Westfall

[319] Egyir Paintsil, Accra, "Ghana Apostolic Church Now Known as the Church of Pentecost," July 28, 1962.

[320] The determining factors for the greater part of people going with McKeown are obvious. Firstly all the leaders rallied behind him; Tenobi who took the opposing side was a lay member. Second, the other Apostolic missionaries who were in the country to assist McKeown, Pastors Seaborne and Hammond, did not have the kind of influence that McKeown had wielded. Pastor Hammond also resigned and joined McKeown's group (Tenobi, *The Apostolic Church*, 29). Thirdly the wording of the amended part of the constitution, which according to oral sources within the Church of Pentecost claim that a black apostle could not exercise control over a white apostle, although a white apostle could exercise control over both whites and blacks was not only unscriptural and discriminatory but had colonialistic tendencies (for example, see Eunice Addison, "Interview by Author," Tape recording, Accra, September 20, 1999; Rev. Patrick Asiamah, Retired Executive Member, CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September 20, 1999; cf. Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism." 162). Finally, McKeown had already shown respect to the people; he had already won their hearts. This is highlighted in the fact that at the time McKeown went on furlough and attended the Council Meeting, as cited already, although two white missionaries of the Apostolic pastors were assisting him in Ghana, it was Anaman, a Ghanaian who was the Acting Chairman.

[321] The documents show that sometimes McKeown travelled to North America, Britain or Nigeria with some of his pastors, especially, J. Egyir Paintsil. Other times Pastor Anaman, the vice Superintendent, also travelled to North America and ministered. For example, see James McKeown, Circular Letter to All Assemblies, Accra, June 18, 1957; Ghana Apostolic Church, Pastors Council Meetings, Winneba, September 19-24, 1955; James McKeown, Pastoral Circular Letter, Accra, July 1957; Ghana Apostolic Church, General Council Minutes, Kumasi, March 19-26, 1959.

[322] For example, after Osborn has sent a large quantity of his book *Healing in His Wings*, he allowed the Church to translate and print this into Twi and Ga. See Anaman, Circular Letter to All Assemblies, Accra, December 15, 1956; Ghana Apostolic Church, Pastors Council Meetings, Obo-Kwahu, October 27- November 3, 1959.

[323] For example, see James McKeown, Circular Letter to All Assemblies: Humility, Accra, June 27, 1958; Ghana Apostolic Church, Winneba, 40.

(and wife) left in 1968, no missionary was sent from America.[324] The Americans financially assisted some pastors (Ghanaians and Togolese) to work in the Togo branch of the Church.[325]

Later, in 1972, with the desire to feel part of the world-wide church, the Church established links with Elim Pentecostal Church of UK.[326]

The break did not affect the growth of the Church. From 1962, the year of settling down, to 1982, the year that McKeown retired to the UK, the Church grew from a membership of 20,000 to over 131,973.[327]

5.6 Retirement of McKeown and Indigenous Leadership

Finally, McKeown retired in 1982 and handed over the chairmanship of the Church to Pastor Fred Stephen Safo, a Ghanaian. To some extent, leadership before this period could be considered indigenous, since most of the decisions were made by the Executive Council, either in the presence or absence of McKeown. Besides, all Regional Heads had the autonomy to administer the affairs of their regions. Thus apart from the issue of African chairmanship, which arose in the wake of Ghanaian Independence in 1957, before the birth of CoP in 1962, there are no traces of major

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Ghana Apostolic Church, Pastors Council Meetings, 1955; The Church of Pentecost, Minutes of 6th Session of Church Council, Kumasi, April 6-10, 1968.

[325] General Council Meetings, Ghana Apostolic Church, Secondi, April 10 - April 22, 1957.

[326] The relationship followed the recommendation of the Elim Pentecostal Missionaries, David & Margaret Mills who attended the Church of Pentecost convention in Koforidua, 1969. Their visit subsequently led to an accord made between the two churches in 1971. The accord seeks to establish a mutual working relationship between them. The Church of Pentecost, General Council Minutes, Kumasi, March 12-18, 1971.

[327] The Church of Pentecost, General Council Minutes, Asokore - Koforidua, April 12-14, 1981.

leadership tensions in the annals of the Church. In a way, indigenous leadership was just a normal continuation of the running of the Church.

Pastor Safo, who succeeded McKeown, was a man endowed with wisdom and administrative ability.[328] From 1982, the Church continued to grow rapidly under his leadership. A National Church Survey conducted by the Ghana Evangelism Committee in 1987 showed that CoP was the fastest growing church in Ghana.[329] Another survey conducted in 1991, revealed that it had become the largest Protestant church in Ghana.[330] One special feature of CoP during the leadership of Safo was the establishment of a social services department, which seeks to initiate, promote, develop and manage the social services of CoP. Consequently, in the course of time, schools, farms (crops and livestock), mobile clinics and hospitals have been established. After the death of Safo in 1987, Pastor Martinson Kwadjo Yeboah was elected the Chairman in 1988, and held the position for ten years until he retired in 1998. In his place, Pastor Michael Kwabena Ntumy was elected to the position of chairman in 1998. During Yeboah's tenure of office "prophetism," especially exorcism, took a different turn in CoP.

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[328] On hearing of the death of Pastor Fred Stephen Safo, Wynne Lewis, the former General Superintendent of Elim Pentecostal Churches described him "he was a big man spiritually, physically and intellectually." Personal communication with Lewis in 1987.

[329] Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee, 1989), 18-19.

[330] Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey*, 18-19; cf. Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk with Robyn Johnstone, *Operation World: 21st Century Edition*, 1974, 6th Edition (Carlisle: Paternoster Lifestyle, 2001) 274. David Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Encyclopedia*, eds. Second Edition, 2 Vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 203-04.

5.7 Spread of the Church of Pentecost to the World[331]

The beginning of the spread of CoP to other countries was not an organised one. As CoP members migrated to other countries they shared their faith with others and, before long, small groups of new converts were formed.[332] Through this means, CoP has spread over the world. In 1991, in order to co-ordinate the activities of the branches overseas, CoP established a department called the "International Missions Office," under an International Missions Director. [333] The Director's annual report for the year 2000 indicates that there were 1,572 churches and a membership of 119,429, in forty-four countries dispersed over all the continents.[334] 217 new churches were opened and 10,076 converts were baptised in the year 2000 alone.[335] Hollenweger rightly observes that "all the elements of oral theology function as a logic system for passing on theological and social value information in oral society."[336]

[331] For detailed reading of the activities of the International Missions work of the Church of Pentecost, see Opoku Onyinah, "Pentecostalism and the African Diaspora: An Examination of the Missions Activities of the Church of Pentecost." Forthcoming Article in *PNEUMA*.

[332] Those migrants sent information home about the existence of new churches, which they had established. Pastors were then sent to take charge of such churches.

[333] Part of the functions of the International Mission Director is to advise missionaries and where appropriate organise with them crusades, rallies and conventions for the effective evangelism of the nations. The Church of Pentecost, Koforidua, General Council Minutes, March 12-18, 1991.

[334] Countries where branches are include Israel, Holland, Belgium, U.S.A., Canada, Norway, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Lebanon, Japan, India and Australia.

[335] The Church of Pentecost, International Missions Board's End of Year 2000 Report, Sowutuom-Accra, March 28 to April 2, 2001.

[336] Walter J. Hollenweger, "After Twenty Years Research on Pentecostalism," *Inter International Review of Mission* LXXV, no. 297 (1985): 10-11. See also Hollenweger 1997:293, 3-12; Spittler, "Implicit Values," 413-14.

Thus, although CoP has not yet intellectually systematised its faith and practices in theological categories, these are echoed in its normal church activities such as in worship through songs and preaching, at conventions and movements' meetings; the members carry these along orally.

6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that missionaries' activities in Ghana were greatly influenced by the ideological background in their countries of origins. In an effort to evangelise and civilise the people, the missionaries presented the devil as the power behind the *abosom*, *asuman* and almost all the traditional beliefs and practices. The implications were that they caused three divisions among the Akan society—traditional people, dual allegiance people and mission-oriented people. They also drew a line between Akan culture and Christianity. Everything from the Europeans was considered godly, while everything Akan was seen as devilish. Yet their ministries were not able to feed the holistic needs of the people. Consequently, there emerged the prophetic ministry, which announced a new dawn of Christianity and was seen in the Spiritual churches. In the appropriation of the Christian message for themselves, "prophetism" became an important aspect of Spiritual churches. Out of prophetism, exorcism, which is a blend of the Akan religious spectrum and Christian beliefs and practices was applied. While these attracted a lot of adherents, the weaknesses in these practices assisted the popularity of CoP. Like the Spiritual churches, CoP through the flexibility of James McKeown, adopted Akan cultural practices which were relevant to them. For the Spiritual churches, throwing away the effigies of *abosom* (gods) was enough; there was

no need for a special form of exorcism from the contamination of the *abosom* for a new convert. Their sort of exorcism centred on *abisa*, a diagnostic activity geared toward the causation of problems in order to exorcise them. The next chapter discusses how CoP battled with exorcism in this background.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRACTICE OF EXORCISM IN THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST: 1937-1987

1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt with how exorcism developed out of Christianity from the framework of Akan *abisa* and thus gave way to the emergence and the growth of the Spiritual churches. Yet certain weaknesses in the approach of Spiritual churches paved the way for the prominence of the Church of Pentecost (CoP). The next two chapters look at how CoP developed an exorcistic ministry within the Akan traditional parameters.

Although Hunts observes that "the growth and appeal of deliverance has come with the expansion of the 'classical' Pentecostal movement at the beginning of the twentieth century,"[1] it must be stressed that in the early period the emphasis was on speaking in tongues as "initial evidence" of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and as a powerful weapon for evangelism; healing and deliverance were to accompany the baptism.[2] The

[1] Stephen Hunt, "Managing the Demonic: Some Aspects of the Neo-Pentecostal Deliverance Ministry," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 13, no. 2 (1998): 216.

[2] For example, see Warren Newberry, "Signs and Miracles in Twenty-First Century Pentecostal Missiology: Continuation, Domestication or Abdication," *The 30th Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (2001): 656-74; Allan Anderson, "Signs and Blunders: Pentecostal Mission Issues at Home and Abroad in the 20th Century," *Asian Journal of Missions* 2, no. 2 (2000): 193-210; Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 18-24; Benny C. Aker, "The Gospel in Action," in *Signs and Wonders in Ministry Today*, Benny C. Aker and Gary S. McGee, eds. (Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1996), 35-45; Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 79-80; Charles W. Conn, *Like a Mighty Army: A History of the Church of God* (Cleveland: Pathway Press, 1977), 92; Frederick Dale Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness*, 1970, Second Impression (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1972), 47-55.

belief was that there was power in the name of Jesus to crush down the kingdom of Satan. For example, although the Norwegian historian of Pentecostalism, Bloch-Hoell notices that Satan and his kingdom have a place in the Pentecostal message on supernatural healing, this was mainly "in the appeal for the winning of souls and in holiness preaching."[3] Thus, as has officially been the stance of the US Assemblies of God, some classical Pentecostals assume that a born-again Christian could never be indwelt by an evil spirit,[4] and opposed those who attempted to make deliverance a specialism.[5]

Yet, as it is usually the case, they could not cramp the activities of popular itinerant healing ministries that sprang up on the perimeter of the movement which made deliverance their field of interest.[6] For such Pentecostals, as Warrington observes, "their view of the demonic owes as much to medieval art and popular fiction as it does to the New Testament."[7] Consequently, for many of those practitioners the manifestations and testimonies following "deliverance services" have often been the catalyst for beliefs concerning demons, rather than the covert descriptions of the New Testament.[8] Nonetheless, there are some Pentecostals who believe that there is enough doctrine of demonology taught in Scripture.[9] Thus Warrington observes that "the lack

[3] Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964), 111.
[4] Hunt, "Managing the Demonic," 217; Steven S. Carter, "Demon Possession and the Christian," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 3, no. 1 (2000): 19; William K. Kay, *Inside Story: A History of British Assemblies of God* (Mattersey: Mattersey Hall Publishing, 1999), 337.
[5] Hunt, "Managing the Demonic," 217; Carter, "Demon Possession and the Christian," 19.
[6] Hunt, "Managing the Demonic," 217; Keith Warrington, "Healing and Exorcism: The Path to Wholeness," in *Pentecostal Perspective*, Keith Warrington, ed. (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998), 173.
[7] Warrington, "Healing and Exorcism," 171-72.
[8] Cf. Warrington, "Healing and Exorcism," 172.
[9] See Warrington 1998:172.

of biblical parameters for much of that which is written makes the exercise subjective and at times, suspect, leaving a trail of speculation and confusion for the readers."[10] From such unsettled beliefs in Pentecostal circles, Hollenweger concludes that the matter of demonology is "an unsolved problem in Pentecostal belief and practice."[11]

In his narrative of the historical survey of the Apostolic Church (AC), Turnbull, the scribe among the pioneers of AC, represents AC's approach to formulating beliefs on deliverance and demons. Just like some Pentecostals already mentioned, Turnbull highlights some testimonies received from various countries as evidence of the work of God in AC.[12] Thus such testimonies, and the means by which those who testified were delivered, became the basis of beliefs and practices. Of course this process of constructing a "theology" falls within the general approach of Pentecostal hermeneutics. As theologians of Pentecostalism, such as Hollenweger and Anderson, have observed, often Pentecostals read and interpret the Bible in their daily life experiences.[13] This approach, however, is inclined to produce ambiguity in beliefs and practices.

It was with such an ambiguity of beliefs and practices that James McKeown, the first missionary of AC to the Gold Coast (Ghana) started his work. Yet, it was this sort of

[10] Warrington, "Healing and Exorcism," 172.
[11] Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1972), 379.
[12] Thomas N. Turnbull, *What God Hath Wrought : A Short History of the Apostolic Church* (Bradford: Puritan Press Ltd., 1959), 133-39. Cf. Idris J. Vaughan, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church : Pentecostalism in Nigeria 1931-52* (Great Britain: Ipswich Book Company, 1991), 54-70. Vaughan was an Apostolic Church missionary to Nigeria in the 1930s and 40s. He uses a similar approach.
[13] Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 309; Allan Anderson, "The Hermeneutical Processes of Pentecostal-Type African Initiated Churches in South Africa," *Missionalia* 24, no. 2 (1996): 174. It is noteworthy to observe that Hollenweger argues strongly that it is not only the Pentecostals who tend to interpret the Scripture through their experiences, all other Christians do it. See Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism*, 305-325; Walter J.

complexity in beliefs and practices that was to enhance his ministry in Ghana, since the Ghanaian traditional religion, especially that of the Akan, as has been shown in Chapter Two, is full of ambiguity. Consequently, the practices of exorcism within CoP[14] have been progressive. This chapter looks at the historical antecedents of exorcism and the influence of the Charismatic renewal in the formation of this ministry.

2 THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH ERA: 1937-1952

This was the period that McKeown arrived in Ghana and worked for AC of the UK. During this period, as shown in Chapter Two, the anti-witchcraft shrines, especially that of Tigare, were very famous. The frequency of the participation of some Christians in the shrines' activities prompted the Christian Council to issue a paper on Tigare, discouraging Christians from involving themselves in the so-called deceit of the shrine.[15] As has been shown in the previous chapter, the classical Pentecostals did not join other Christians in consulting these shrines, rather they resorted to preaching about the power of Christ, which could demolish all other powers. Through such an approach they did not only win converts from the common adherents to these anti-witchcraft shrines, but also some from among the *akɔmfoɔ*, (shrines' priests).[16] Among the converted *akɔmfoɔ* were Mrs Beatrice Larbi, alias Maama "Halleluya" of Koforidua and Mrs. Adu of Aduayaw Nkwata in Ahafo. According to my informants, the emphases at this period were to accept Christ and to attend prayer meetings. As McKeown

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Hollenweger, "The Other Exegesis," *Horizons in Biblical Theology. An International Dialogue* 3 (1981): 155-79.

[14] The church that McKeown led after the Ghanaians had severed relationship with the Apostolic Church.

[15] Christian Council of Ghana, "Report on Tigare" (1947), 1-8.

frequently told his story,[17] he often went to pray with the people in the bush, usually referred to as *kokoase mpaebɔ* (praying under cocoa trees).[18] According to McKeown, as was typical of other classical Pentecostals, his intention was to have his members baptised in the Holy Spirit.[19] Although the Spirit baptised people, McKeown was often confronted with other issues. Many stories abound on what happened during this period in the Church. But for our purpose, I shall cite an example in Ghana which was recorded by Adam McKeown, the brother of James McKeown, who was also a missionary assisting his brother in the late 1940s.[20]

It is here noted that the leadership often did not intend to exorcise demons, yet exorcism was part of their ministry during prayer sessions. This sort of exorcism during simultaneous prayer became prominent in CoP. The pastors and members of the Church adopted this. In addition to this, those who had peculiar problems could also approach the leaders for help. Pastor Ayisi of AC told me a story which gives insight

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[16] For example, see Eunice Addison, Former General Women Leader, CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September 20, 1999; Elder Donkor Obuobi, CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Koforidua, September 10, 1999.

[17] McKeown often told his story during conventions. This was also confirmed by my informants, such as Prophet M. K. Yeboah retired Chairman of the Church of Pentecost and Mrs Eunice Addison. Martinson Kwadwo Yeboah, Retired Chairman of CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September 14, 1999; Addison, Interview by Author.

[18] Since the church did not have buildings at the time, people resorted to praying under cocoa trees which could give them shade.

[19] For example, see Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 79-80; Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 47-55.

[20] He writes:

> We had gone into the bush for our usual morning prayer meeting where quite a company, mainly women, were gathered, seeking God. After a word of exhortation we commenced to pray, and while encouraging those who were seeking for the baptism in the Holy Spirit, one young woman was tossed down and thrown about in a wild manner until her face and clothing were covered with red earth. We continued to pray and claim deliverance in the name of Jesus, until her struggles ceased and she laid quiet. We listened to the young woman's testimony later, how that for many years she had been troubled by epileptic fits and was gradually getting worse. She believed in the prayer meeting in the bush and had been gloriously delivered and healed.

into how exorcism was conducted during the period.[21] It can be deduced from his narrative that, although there was no such special meeting set aside for "exorcism," special prayers similar to exorcistic performance could be carried out for those who requested it, especially those who thought they were witches or demon possessed.

Another issue that became well known during this period and was beneficial for our purpose was the "healing" of a wealthy woman who lost all her property and became seriously depressed. According to my informant, the woman was insane, and unless she was put under strict control, she would strip herself naked. When one lay member attempted to pray for her, the woman took a cutlass and attempted to kill him. The brother commanded her to stop the killing, and then commanded her to be healed in Jesus name. She was said to be instantly healed. When one pastor reported this healing in his handbook, he added "she became completely normal when the brother cast the demon out of her."[22] Thus, he sees her depression/insanity, as do many Ghanaian Pentecostals, as demon possession.[23]

The General Council, *The History of the Church of Pentecost* (Unpublished, 1987), 47.

[21] He says:

> Pastor, there was no confusion about demons during the early period of the Church. Those who were demonised were delivered during prayer meetings. Those who needed help consulted us for prayer. For example, a woman came to inform us that she was a witch and needed help. According to her, at night, she often saw a snake coiled around her waist and any person she crushed down in her dreams died in the physical world. Being led by Pastor Adu-Pare, who was our District Pastor, we went to the bush to pray. As we commanded the spirit to come out, the woman (in other words, the evil spirit in her) said, 'if you want me to go out then you should follow me to the Volta River.' We rejected this appeal and commanded the spirit to come out. The woman then ran to the bush and we never saw her again. I do not know whether or not she came in to test us or somebody specifically.

Pastor E. Y. Ayisi, Apostle Church Ghana & Administrator of Ghana Pentecostal Council, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, October 6, 1999.

[22] David Tenobi, *A Short History of The Apostolic Church in Ghana* (Accra: Tenobi, 1985), 17.

[23] This will become clear in the later part of this chapter.

The narrative so far shows that in this period, although exorcism was practised in the Church, there was no emphasis on it. As some people "manifested" peculiar characteristics during the normal church activities, especially during prayer, those present dealt with it. People who were insane were thought to be in-dwelt by demons, as in the case of the woman cited. Further it was the practice that people who had unusual dreams, and thought they were witches, could approach the leaders for help. Often such problems were dealt with successfully. Yet, as indicated in the incident of the woman who ran to the bush without coming back, some issues were not successfully handled. The ability to "exorcise" the "demonic" was the privilege of every member of the Church, as indicated in the case of the brother who "exorcised" the insane woman. It seems that during this period, the issue of witchcraft and the demonic was not a major problem in the Church. There is no record of schism during this period apart from the conflict between Anim and McKeown, which caused a split in the early days of the Church.[24] This was not the case in the second phase.

3 EMERGENCE OF "PROPHETISM": BETWEEN 1953-1969

3.1 Visit of the Latter Rain Movement

This is the period during which prophetism began in the Church and eventually led to schisms. As shown in Chapter Three,[25] a team of three, led by Dr Thomas Wyatt from the Latter Rain Movement in North America, visited the then Apostolic Church of Gold

[24] See chapter three section 5.2.3.
[25] See Chapter three section 5.6.

Coast (Ghana) in the early part of 1953.[26] As a result of their visit, the "destiny" of the Church in the then Gold Coast was greatly influenced by the beliefs and practices of the Latter Rain.

The Latter Rain Movement, as was remarked by Riss, bears many similarities to the early Pentecostal movement that originated at Azusa Street, yet since it stemmed from "the perceived dryness of the Pentecostal faith," it came to revitalise Pentecostalism.[27] They held some beliefs which were similar to AC.[28] But unlike AC the Latter Rain movement also laid emphasis on deliverance and was opposed to the establishment of "human organisations."[29] The Latter Rain ministers did not only hold on to these beliefs, but, as have been shown by Riss and Hamon, the crusades of some of the key leaders of the movement, such as William Branham, Gordon Lindsay, T. L. Osborn and

[26] James McKeown, Circular Letter, January, 6, 1953.
[27] M. Richard Riss, "Latter Rain Movement," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Stanley Burgess and Gary B. McGee, eds. (Grand Rapid: Regency Reference Library, 1988), 532.
[28] They believed in the restoration of the five-fold ministries of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers. They also believe that the laying-on of hands by apostles and prophets follows the baptism of the Spirit and manifestation of spiritual gifts and other supernatural occurrences. Bill Hamon, *The Eternal Church* (Santa Rosa Beach: Christian International, 1981), 263; Riss, "Latter Rain Movement," 533; Peter Hocken, *Streams of Renewal: Origins and Early Development of the Charismatic Movement in Great Britain* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1986), 26; James E. Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain: With a Breviate of Its Early Missionary Endeavours* (Thorndon: Julian Literature Trust, 1991), 292.
[29] Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, 292; Hocken, *Streams of Renewal*, 26. Other features of the Latter Rain movement were the praise dance, fasting and prayers. Still others include the "New Thing" in Isaiah 43:19 (and Acts 17:19-21) which, to them, centred on revelation, and the Feast of Tabernacles. For further reading on the movement, see Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, 292. For other beliefs of the Latter Rain such as the Feast of Tabernacles, and further reading on the movement, see M. Richard Riss, "Latter Rain Movement of 1948," *PNEUMA* 4 (1982): 32-45; Riss, "Latter Rain Movement," 532-34; M. Richard Riss, *A Survey of 20th Century Revival Movements in North America* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988), 105-24; Hamon, *The Eternal Church*, 238-68; Worsfold, *The Origins of the Apostolic Church in Great Britain*, 290-310; Hocken, *Streams of Renewal*, 25-29.

Oral Roberts were characterised by reports of healing and other miraculous phenomena.[30]

The Latter Rain team held meetings in Accra, Kumasi and Cape Coast with great success.[31] According to my informants, including Pastor Emmanuel Nii Ankrah Vanderpuije (a retired pastor), Maame Eunice Addison (Retired Women's Leader) and Elder Kwame Gyimah (Retired Regional Deacon), the crowds were large and the meetings were highly spiritual. The emphasis was on faith in Jesus for the forgiveness of sin in order to gain salvation. Again, there was stress on healing and deliverance from the power of evil. These were also demonstrated in their ministries; it was reported that blind eyes opened, mutes spoke, cripples walked.[32] In their meetings, "prophetism" was displayed at the highest level; directive prophecies were given.[33]

My informants did not imply that the Apostolic Church in Gold Coast was completely new to the ministry of the Latter Rain. They rather conveyed the message that the Latter Rain movement demonstrated to them faith in the immediacy of the presence of

[30] Hamon, *The Eternal Church*, 246; Riss, *20th Century Revival Movements*, 105-12.
[31] As has been shown in Chapter Four the meetings were held between 23 January and 13 February in 1953.
[32] For example, in Accra, V. B. Anan, a Methodist, who was a politician, king-maker and financier, had been partially paralysed by stroke. He and a crippled beggar were instantly healed. Pastor C. S. T. Owuo of the Presbyterian Church attended the meeting in Accra and was baptised in the Holy Spirit. Emmanuel Nii Ankrah Vanderpuije, Retired Protocol Manager of CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September 18, 1999; Maame Eunice Addison, Former General Women Leader, CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September,20, 1999; Elder Kwame Gyimah, Retired Regional Deacon, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Kumasi, July 23, 1999.
[33] A circular letter issued by McKeown after their visit reads, "during the visit of the America Team, these men have been called into new offices in the Church. Pastor C. K. Diaba and J. Egyir Paintsil as Apostles, Overseer Albert Yaw as a Pastor at Cape Coast, and Pastor C. E. Apau- Asante as Prophet to be transferred to Tamale." James McKeown, Circular Letter to All Assemblies, Accra, February 20, 1953. This prophecy was given by Adam McKeown, a member of the team and a former missionary to Ghana who was somehow conversant about the work.

God in practical terms. This is clearly illustrated in Maama Eunice Addison's[34] report of the meetings, which were held in Cape Coast.[35] The resolution letter which the Ghanaian Church sent to the Missionary Committee of the Apostolic Church, during the period of the dispute, also highlights what they had gained from the team; part of it reads, "since the Team left us we have been carrying on as before, but with greater power, zeal, knowledge and liberty."[36] This implies that the team came to revive them.

Pastor McKeown's circular letter after the visit summarises the work of the Latter Rain Movement in Ghana:

> The long looked-for mission from America has come and gone…. Many will be able to say: I am healed. Many will be able to say: I have been baptised in the Holy Ghost. The blessings are many, but there is one outstanding blessing they have left with us. They have given us "FAITH." They demonstrated to us in a practical way that they "BELIEVED GOD." They carried this faith in action to the man in need. "The poor had the gospel preached to them." We are now to be followers of their faith.[37]

From McKeown's analysis, therefore, it could be inferred that the demonstration of *faith in a practical way* as a belief in God was the legacy that the Latter Rain left in Ghana. Their visit was to resurrect the *abisa* or "prophetism" within the Ghanaians, which was lurking at the gateway of their psyche, seeking opportunity to gush forth within classical Pentecostalism in the country. McKeown's last statement in his

[34] Mrs. Addison is the daughter of Mrs. Obo, the lady who organised the women to pray and to support the work. She accompanied her mother to the Church in 1938.
[35] She explains, "Pastor, the issue is that what happened was not completely new to us. Before their visit we were praying and seeing miracles in our meetings. People got baptised in the spirit, healed and prophesied." She concluded, "what was new to us was the demonstration of faith in practical terms. One could pray and be baptised in the Spirit without having to keep on tarrying and waiting. We had not witnessed the power of God being demonstrated before a large crowd in that way." Addison, Interview.
[36] Apostolic Church Council, Resolution of the Apostolic Church (Gold Coast) Council, Accra, May 21, 1953.
[37] James McKeown, Circular Letter to All Assemblies, Accra, February 20, 1953.

circular "we are to be followers of their faith" was destined to bring this out, but only at the expense of the hitherto peaceful atmosphere of the Church.

Two main things emerged within the Church during this period. The use of directive prophecies among the pastorate: calling people to various offices, transferring ministers to different stations and giving instructions concerning the work.[38] Reading the minutes of the Church from 1953 to 1961 shows that these continued until 1961 when the Executive Council discouraged it.[39] The discouragement became necessary when some confusion set in regarding the use of directive prophecies. For example, one of the prophets prophesied that McKeown was going to hand over the leadership of the work to a Ghanaian, but this was not his intention.[40] Again the apostles also felt they had to get involved in the callings and transfers of ministers.[41] What interests us now is the second thing, which is the practice of healing and deliverance among the members.

3.2 Healing and Deliverance

3.2.1 Lay Prophets/Prophetesses

As the pastors were demonstrating prophetism at their Council meetings, some members also were demonstrating this during prayer meetings and church services. Besides the fact that they organised their prayer meetings in their various areas, they

[38] Although this was done in the Apostolic Church, as has been indicated in Chapter Two, since McKeown had his reservations about it, he did not encourage it at the beginning of his Church.
[39] For example, see Gold Coast Apostolic Church, Half Year Council Minutes, Koforidua, September 21-27, 1954; Ghana Apostolic Church, Pastors Council Meetings, Winneba, September 19-24, 1955; General Council Meetings, Ghana Apostolic Church, Secondi, April 10 - April 22, 1957; Ghana Apostolic Church, General Council Minutes, Anomabu, March 25 -April 1, 1958.
[40] Ghana Apostolic Church, General Council Minutes, Sekondi, April 10-22, 1957.

were given the chance to pray and exorcise the afflicted during the afternoons of the Church conventions. Such opportunity made them popular. With the exception of one of them, Ante Amma Amankwah who died perhaps before the schism began, the names and works of the rest appear in the minutes of the General Council of the Church. Attention is now given to these lay prophets and prophetesses.

John Mensah, an illiterate Asante, was born in 1910 at Ankaase-Kokofu. At the age of twelve he was converted to the Methodist Church and three years later left to live at Cape Coast. He became rich through the transport business, but later lost his wealth. During this crisis in his life a friend introduced him to the Apostolic Church, whereupon he resigned his membership from the Methodist Church and joined in 1948.[42] Taking cues from the Latter Rain ministry in Cape Coast later, on two occasions he went to the bush to fast and pray. According to Wilson, the Lord spoke to him the second time saying, "if he insisted on the transport, He (God) will allow all his lorries to be seized."[43] Soon after this, he obtained the permission of the Pastor in-charge of the Cape Coast and started a prayer meeting on a Tuesday. As many sick people came and claimed their healing, the place became a prayer centre. When Prophet Hammond, one of AC's missionaries who remained with McKeown for sometime, saw the grace of God with him, he prayed for him. Mensah accepted this as ordination to the office of a prophet. By 1955, his calling had been accepted by the General Council of the

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[41] Ghana Apostolic Church, General Council Minutes, Sekondi, April 10-22, 1957; Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes 1958, 2; Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes of the 11th Session of General Ministers Council, Akim Oda, November 24-30, 1961.
[42] George De Wilson, "Biography of Prophet John Mensah," Cape Coast, n. d.
[43] Wilson, "Prophet John Mensah," 5-6. Wilson was a friend of the prophet, who wrote a short biography about him.

Church.[44] He was given a remittance from the Church's headquarters and then given the mandate to evangelise and bring reports to the Head Office.[45] In his report to the Council in 1957, he recorded visits to many places including Kumasi, Nigeria and Cote d' Voire.[46] Reporting on his visit to Abidjan, Cote d' Ivoire, he recorded, among other things, that a mad college youth and a paralytic person were healed, while a blind woman whom he thought was possessed, did not received her sight, although he claimed the demon was cast out.[47] With this sort of recognition, Mensah was the most privileged among all the "lay-prophets."

Soon Mensah began consultation (*abisa*) at home. According to Kotey, who was his private secretary, "he [Mensah] would have amassed a fortune if he had charged a small fee for consultation."[48] Elder Gyimah related that once he and Sophia Opekpe, the then Regional Women's Leader of the Ashanti Region, were sent to discuss some issues with Mensah. The attendants at the gate would not allow them to go in unless they had taken off their sandals, since, as they said, they were going into the presence of a holy man of God. Since Maama Sophia had a strong personality and would not succumb to such an issue as this, it became a quarrel between them until Mensah came and instructed the attendants to allow them through. Later, according to Apostle J. K. Ennin and Prophet Yeboah, Mensah began to sell his pictures; it was advocated that when his pictures were placed under pillows one would have divine revelation. The implication is that one will be able to see in dreams, *nea oye no*, that is, the witch who is the source of one's

[44] Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1955, 1. From 1955 to 1958 his name appeared on the Council Meetings minutes as a prophet.
[45] General Council Meetings, Secondi, 7.
[46] General Council Meetings, Secondi, 3.

problems. He also blessed water and gave it to patients who consulted him.[49] When Mensah was advised against these and other things, which will be discussed later in this chapter, he finally severed connection with the Church on 11th November, 1958.[50] He became the first President of the National Council of Spiritual churches.[51]

After this Mensah was said to have many revelations and supernatural encounters. According to Kotey, he could travel in spirit to anywhere he wanted and that once he demonstrated to them that he visited the moon and came back. Kotey continued that he could even "chase a soul who was trying to leave the body and bring it back into the body…."[52] Mensah claimed that he could understand messages given by leaves, birds and other animals.[53] What made Mensah special and attracted many adherents to him was his claim on exorcisms. His secretary puts it this way, "he many a time accompanied evil spirit he removed from their places of abode to their new places of destination to be sure they had obeyed instructions."[54] By this he meant, once Mensah had set one free from *bayie* (witchcraft), one was free forever.

Another prophetess who emerged in the early 1950s was Sister Amma Amankwaah, who originally came from Somanya in Krobo, but since she was married to an Asante man, she lived in Breman, Kumasi. She became popular when the sight of a blind person she prayed for was restored. According to Maame Akua Botwe, she then started

[47] John Mensah, Pastoral Circular Letter, Cape Coast, November 23, 1956.
[48] G. N. Kotey, "A Sketch of the Life and Works of Prophet John Mensah," Accra, 1972.
[49] Kotey, "Prophet John Mensah," 26.
[50] Kotey, "Prophet John Mensah," 39.
[51] Kotey, "Prophet John Mensah," 44.
[52] Kotey, "Prophet John Mensah," 22.
[53] Kotey, "Prophet John Mensah," 19.

prayer meetings in the bush near Breman, where many people with problems such as barrenness and madness were cured. The prayer meetings then became a camp where some sick people resided until they were healed. Unfortunately, it is said that a mad woman bit her hand, and since she failed to report this to the hospital she died prematurely to deny society her gift. The prayer meeting also died with her.

Sister Sophia Offer was also a prophetess who became important after the visit of the Latter Rain.[55] She came from Axim, Nzima (Western Region). She lived in Kumasi and started prayer meetings, which were held at Kumasi Canterbury Hall, a very popular place. According to my informants, including Elder Kwame Gyimah and Maama Akua Botwe, her meetings were like the Osborn type of crusade. It is said that through her prayer many sick people, including the cripples and demon possessed, were healed and delivered. She was nick-named "Canterbury Hall." Not long after, she started dressing in a long white robe and started *abisa* (consultation) at her house. Some of the prescriptions she gave for healing and for protection against witchcraft were blessed water, herbs and florida water. Soon she came into conflict with the leadership; as she could not submit, she seceded but was not successful. According to my informants, she ended up a beggar before her death.[56]

The next prophetess, indisputably the best known among all of them was Maame Sophia Dede. Originally she came from the Krobo area but lived in Koforidua where

[54] Kotey, "Prophet John Mensah," 21.
[55] Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1958, 5. Her name appears as one of the people working as a prophet.

she accepted Christ in the 1940s and moved to settle at Kade. Maama Dede became popular, as it is said, when God used her to bring a dead person back to life.[57] The story goes that Mercy Agyapoma, who is a sister to Mrs Victoria Paintsil (wife of a former General Secretary) was dead, but before her corpse was to be bathed and then laid in state, the Spirit of God told Maame Dede to go and pray for her. This she obeyed and Agyapoma came back to life. Maame Dede became well known and began a prayer meeting at Kade. It is alleged that at her prayer meetings, so-called witches were exorcised and delivered, people with all types of problems, such as barrenness and acute stomach pain were cured.[58] As Prophet Yeboah, who was then her district pastor related to me, she started *abisa* (consultation), giving blessed holy water, and blessed handkerchiefs to those who consulted her.[59] Soon Maame Dede became very rich and bought a car, at the time when the apostles and the prophets in the Church were not using cars. She employed the services of a driver. Her stress that the tithes and offering of the Church should be given to her found her in conflict with her district Pastor.[60] Unfortunately, Dede fell in love with her driver. She then accused her husband to whom she had been married for over twenty-one years, of not performing the Krobo customary rites. She then divorced him and married her driver, and was disciplined by

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[56] Gyimah, Interview by Author; Deaconess Akua Botwe, CoP, Interview by Author, Kumasi, July 23, 1999.

[57] This was a miracle in the Church, which almost all the members I interviewed in connection with prayer camps mentioned.

[58] For example, see Rev. J. K. Enninh, Area Head, CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Tarkwah, August 25, 1999; Yeboah, Interview; Addison, Interview.

[59] Yeboah, Interview.

[60] Because of her position, the case became severe, involving the whole town of Kade where the chief became interested. The General Council had to set up a committee to settle it. The chairman had to send a pastoral letter to all ministers after the settlement of the case; James McKeown, Pastoral Circular Letter, Accra, December 3, 1959; Ghana Apostolic Church, Pastors Council Meeting, 4.

the Church.[61] After this incident Maame Dede was said to have become very depressed and wretched as a mad person, becoming a beggar at the market place at Kade. Later in the early 1980s, Dede was restored and attempted to begin a prayer camp again before her death.[62]

Another significant person in the area of "prophetism" in the Church is Brother Gilbert Ablor Lawson, a Ga citizen, who during his conversion at the Latter Rain crusade in Accra claimed to have seen an angel. According to Ante Essi, Lawson said that he had another special experience during a prayer meeting at Teshie, and then felt he should pray for the people who were sick. As he prayed for them, many claimed they were healed. Lawson started *abisa* (consultation) in his house and at his office.[63] With the support of the Church, he began an itinerant ministry, preaching and praying for people. Soon he set up healing posts at various areas including Nsawam. Through revelations which he claimed to have, he began to use certain rituals as part of his prescriptions for healing and protection against witchcraft. These devices and practices included blessed water, blessed handkerchiefs, crosses, crucifixes and praying with the face to the East.[64] Since he could not give up these practices, after the leadership had counselled him, he finally broke away in 1958 to continue his ministry, re-naming it, "The Lord is There Temple." Later he changed it to "The Divine Healer's Church."[65]

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[61] Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes of 12th Session of General Ministers Council, Mampong-Ashanti, April 23-28, 1962.
[62] Apostle Robert Asomani Sarpong, Personal Communication, London, November 25, 2000.
[63] Deaconess Ante Essi, Personal Communication, Koforidua, September 10, 1999, cf. Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 332.
[64] James McKeown, Circular Letter to Apostles, Accra, August 12, 1958.

3.2.2 Methods of Healing and Exorcism

The accounts so far show that there were some similarities among the operations of the prophets. Although the methods of healing and exorcism follow the line of AC, there were a few additions. Following the Latter Rain meetings, special meetings were conducted for those with problems, especially for healing and exorcism. In their attempts to deal with the needs of the people, they integrated into their practice the traditional religion's methodologies, which the Spiritual churches had already incorporated. Accordingly, they established prayer camps, began *abisa* (consultation) and used aids, such as blessed water, blessed handkerchiefs, herbs and pictures in their prescriptions, for protection against witchcraft and related problems, and in their ministration of healing and exorcism. Yet, during such exorcistic meetings biblical methods, such as command, were also used, as one of McKeown's letters written during the period indicates: "in the meetings when devils are disturbed, you go for them in the Name of Jesus and command them to come out, that is good."[66] Thus, although the Latter Rain team might not have included any sort of such aids in their meetings, it was inevitable that they would appropriate these methods for themselves through the lens of the traditional religion and the Spiritual churches, which had taken the lead in this ministry.

Such practices and the springing up of the camps, which were not the customs of AC, became a matter of concern for the leadership. One of the letters that the Chairman

[65] For work on Lawson and the Divine Healing Church, see Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 331-42.
[66] James McKeown, Circular Letter to Prophet, Prophetesses, All Assemblies, Witchcraft, Accra, November, 1958.

wrote to all apostles in 1958 indicates that he found it extremely difficult to address the issue. For example, concerning Brother Lawson, he wrote, "I have known all along that there was much in his movement that would have to be dispensed with, but we had hoped he would see this for himself and that we would not offend in pointing it out."[67] Such cultural divergences have always been a point of conflict in Pentecostalism such as the conflict over "emotionalism" which happened between Seymour and Parham.[68] Yet Cox rightly identifies the great strength of Pentecostal impulse as "its power to combine, its aptitude for adopting the language, the music, the cultural artefacts...of the setting in which it lives. But this very flexibility can also be, at times, its most dangerous quality as well."[69] Thus in CoP, this aspect of Pentecostal flexibility became a sensitive issue to handle. Yet the Executive or rather appropriately the Chairman, McKeown, began to address the issues one by one.

3.2.3 Attempts to Correct "Unscriptural Practices"

In the attempts to arrest what were termed "unscriptural practices" by the leadership, the evidence shows that three issues were at the forefront. These were the blessing of water, the use of the title prophet and prophetess, and accusing people of witchcraft.[70] Dwelling on some biblical verses and making a "Pentecostal hermeneutic" of them, McKeown discouraged the use of blessing water and the use of titles Prophet and

[67] McKeown, Circular Letter to Apostles.
[68] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic in the Twentieth Century*, 1971 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 102; Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the of Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), 60-61.
[69] Cox, *Fire Heaven*, 259.
[70] James McKeown, Circular letter to All Assemblies, Blessing of water, Accra, February 20, 1958; Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1958, 5; McKeown, Witchcraft.

Prophetess by the leaders, although some full-time pastors were labelled as prophets.[71] The messages were sent at different times to all the assemblies through circular letters and re-emphasised during Church conventions such as one held at Kumasi in April 1958.[72]

On another occasion McKeown sent a circular letter concerning accusation of witchcraft. Here the Chairman showed concern that there had sprung up in the Church and among those breaking away from the Church, people accusing others, "you are a witch,"[73] something which he knew was against the law of the land. He warned those people that they did so at their own risk, since the Ghana Apostolic Church would not accept any responsibility in case they were sent to court.[74] He then registered his acceptance of the existence of evil spirits and their works, using Mark 5:1-13 to support this view. After admonishing those who were casting them out, he stressed that they should try to destroy their habitation, which, according to him, was the "OLD MAN" or the sinful nature. He emphasised that "if the old man is dead and buried, and the new

[71] He spent time on the blessing of water, which appeared to be a major problem. The first quotation was Exodus 15:23-26. Here McKeown turned attention to the journey of the people of Israel when they had to go to Marah, where the water was bitter. Then the Lord directed them to cut a specific tree and put it in the water, which made it sweet. He then related Marah to some problems which people were encountering including sicknesses; the tree was considered as Jesus. With these he stressed the fact that Jesus had dealt with sin, sickness and Satan on the cross. Drawing their attention to the text again, he said the protection and the healing were not in the blessed water but in obedience to the word of God. He concluded, "when you come to your Marahs, take the tree [Jesus] and cast it in and you will find there is healing." Another Scripture he expounded was 2 King 2:19-22. Basing his point on the healing of the water of Jericho that was not good and the land that was barren, McKeown still taught the lesson that if even bad people brought a curse on a place, "the good people coming there can through the grace of God bring a blessing. On the use of titles he gave a general admonition based on John 1:19-28, where John the Baptist failed to accept his role a as prophet or the Christ when he was approached by a delegation from the religious leadership. See McKeown, Blessing of Water.

[72] Elder J. K. Asante who attended the convention remembers it very well. Elder John Kwame Asante, CoP, Personal Communication, Kumasi, July 23, 1999.

[73] McKeown, Witchcraft.

[74] McKeown, Witchcraft.

man is alive in you; your faith will turn him away. Even if a person has a witch and they are taught, and receive this faith, the evil spirit must go away."[75]

McKeown's concept of witchcraft was ambiguous just like other Pentecostals mentioned in this chapter. There is no distinction between witchcraft and evil spirits or demons, as his letter, which is cited, indicates; he uses both interchangeably. He sees the sinful nature as the abode of the evil spirit; a statement which seems to convey the idea that, for him, most of the issues which the people considered as witchcraft was the work of the flesh. McKeown's approach to the deliverance ministry follows that of Western classical Pentecostals. He did not sanction any aids in addition to prayer, and also discouraged the use of titles such as prophets by the "healers." For him, the use of aids in exorcism and healing was unscriptural. Here, as shown in his letters, his concentration was on preaching Christ and faith. Based upon this belief (prayer without aids) and his Pentecostal approach, that is, his ability to use the Scripture to elucidate his point, at least for sometime, he, with the support of the Ghanaian leaders, was able to suppress such practices, which emerged in the Church.[76] But the problem which McKeown and his leadership faced with this approach was that the members could not understand why the methods which were working for them should be suppressed. Again they did not understand why a person who healed and exorcised could not be called a prophet. Thus the issues would cause a major problem in the Church.

[75] McKeown, Witchcraft.
[76] Discussion in the 1958 General Council indicates that some of the Ghanaians leader appeared stronger on the issues than McKeown. Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1958, 5

3.2.4 Response by the Prophets and Prophetesses

The prophets and prophetesses responded to the leadership's concern for their practices by sending a letter of resolution to the Chairman of the Church. Four main things were presented. Firstly, they expressed their grievances that during conventions of the Church, they were not provided with accommodation and food, as given to the pastors. Secondly, they complained that during prayer for healing at the conventions, the pastors left them.[77] They felt that if the pastors stayed, "God is so mercifully kind as to bestow upon them the spiritual gifts which they lack." Thirdly, they said that many sick people returned to their towns and villages unhealed because "the time allocated to the healing ministry was very very limited." Finally, they concluded that if the Church did not define the position of Prophets/Prophetesses, they would have to withdraw and be independent.[78]

An inquiry into the resolution of the prophets/prophetesses reveals that they felt their ministry had not been fully recognised, that the Church saw their ministry as unimportant, and their roles had not been well defined. This is evident in the statement that while the pastors were served with food and accommodation they were not, and that pastors went to rest while healing and exorcism services continued. These issues raised show that their ministry had been put on the periphery, and that they had a case. Yet their resolution also shows that some attitudes had developed out of them which would make dialogue difficult. Firstly, they thought that they had superior gifts, which the pastors did not have, and that if the pastors would humble themselves to watch them

[77] Healing sessions were conducted in the afternoons after the normal church services
[78] John Mensah, Resolution of Prophets/Prophetesses to Pastor James McKeown, Cape Coast, May 1958.

performing miracles, the Lord would grant them such gifts.[79] Secondly, there was the clear indication that they had already made up their minds to be independent. They threatened, "if our ministry is of no value, and for that reason, neither important nor desirable, we should be so informed, when we would have no option but to withdraw and be independent."[80] There was no mention of doctrinal practices in the resolution. Thus as the leadership thought that "unscriptural practices" had crept into the Church that needed to be dealt with, the prophets/prophetesses felt that their ministry had not been accepted into the structure of the Church and so they needed to become independent. Clearly there was a clash of interest that needed to be settled.

3.2.5 Abortive Attempt to solve Emerging Schisms

The leadership summoned a meeting in Accra, on August 12, 1958, comprising all the prophets/prophetesses and a committee of five pastors representing the leadership.[81] The meeting appeared to be "conducted in a lovely atmosphere" and it was agreed that where appropriate the demands of the prophets were to be met.[82] However, as revealed in their resolution it appeared that they had made up their minds to go independent.[83] By the end of the year, all the prophets/prophetesses had severed relationship with the mother church, except Maame Dede, who was also involved in immorality, disciplined and went "mad" in 1962.

[79] Mensah, Resolution.
[80] Mensah, Resolution.
[81] McKeown, Circular Letter to Apostles. The letter indicates that, with the exception of Sister Sophia Offei, all of them were present.
[82] McKeown, Circular Letter to Apostles.

The reasons the prophets/prophetesses left the Church should now be of concern. For them, as has already become apparent from the analysed resolution, they felt their roles had not been well defined. For the leadership, they were uncooperative due to their wealth and acceptance of flattery. The Chairman wrote that they had allowed themselves "to drink of the wine of gifts, praise and flattery. They became 'so intoxicated with this wine' that when the leadership wanted to reason with them they could not cooperate."[84] Again, the leadership felt that the prophets/prophetesses were "no problem," but the people around them were "a real problem."[85]

While an overview of the discussions so far shows that the reasons given by both parties hold some truths, the main reason goes further than this. The secessions were encouraged by the beliefs and the ministries of the Latter Rain movement. For example, before the secessions of the prophets took place, some pastors had broken away to set up their own ministries after the visit of the Latter Rain team. Pastor Diaba, who was called to the apostleship during the Latter Rain visit, was the first; he established the New Covenant Church in 1955.[86] Following Diaba's move was that of

[83] It was also reported in the meeting that "Brother Lawson said he had plans and when he was ready he would make them known to Pastor Anaman and myself [McKeown]"; McKeown, Circular Letter to Apostles.
[84] McKeown, Circular Letter to Apostles.
[85] McKeown, Circular Letter to Apostles.
[86] Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1955, 2. According to Pastor Vanderpuije, Diaba left on his own without having any conflict with the Church. He requested his "superannuating contribution" to be given to him in one letter, and said in another that he was "no more with the Gold Coast Apostolic Church Establishment." Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1955, 2. In probing into the reason why he left, Elder Martin Laryea, who was a young man at the time, thought Diaba's past life might have contributed to his resignation. He revealed that Diaba was a wealthy businessman before he entered the full-time ministry. Thus since the Apostolic Church did not encourage its pastor to engage in business, Diaba might have resigned when he realised that he could start a ministry and continue his business as well. Elder Martin Laryea, COP, Personal Communication, London, November 25, 2000.

Pastor C. S. T. Owuo, whose secession took place on 2 February, 1958.[87] He began the Apostolic Reformed Church. The events leading to his resignation were "his adamant refusal to stop the unscriptural practice of blessing of water" and " his refusal to take counsel with other Pastors and walk in harmony with them."[88] Pastor Agbotse, who had been called as a Pastor-Evangelist requested to be released as a National Evangelist in April 1958. When the Executive failed to grant it, he left the Church.[89] Furthermore, as has been shown, the healing and exorcism ministry was invigorated by the Latter Rain ministry. It therefore appears that the secessions were the result of the leadership's inability to contain the new wine (of the Latter Rain ministry) in the old wineskin (of the Apostolic Church). In other words, there should have been a new wineskin prepared to contain this new wine; they should have been absorbed into the main structure of the Church. The situation here was similar to schisms which followed the prophetic ministry in the mainline churches. It appears that until the churches have been able to absorb "prophetism," especially *abisa* into their structure, and offer a theological framework for the operations of healers and exorcisers in the Ghanaian churches, "exorcistic ministry" will continue to be a major problem for Christianity in Ghana.

Since all the major prophets/prophetesses left at this period in the Church's history, the practices of blessing water, blessing handkerchiefs, crosses and crucifixes could not be maintained in the Church. Exorcism continued to be done through normal prayer meetings. Pastors who were gifted in healing, such as Fred Diabene Walker, Edward

[87] Owuo was the Presbyterian Pastor who was absolved by the Apostolic Church after the latter Rain ministry.
[88] McKeown, Blessing of Water; C. S. T. Owuo, Re: Invitation to a Meeting, Accra, February 1958.
[89] Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1958, 10.

Denkyi, Soloman Mantey and Sampson Okyere, were asked to conduct healing services in the afternoon sessions during conventions. Pastors and elders were asked to continue special prayer meetings at their local churches for those who had special needs. Among those whose prayer meetings became popular were Elders Sackey of Kanashie-Accra, Boahene of Bompata-Kumasi and Mireku of Koforidua.[90] These types of ministries continued until the 1970s.

3.3 Lack of "Prophetism": 1962 - 1975

From 1962, when the Church took the name "The Church of Pentecost," after it had struggled through the aftermath of the Latter Rain visit,[91] the evidence points to the leadership having no interest in inviting others to come and speak.[92] Furthermore, the leadership did not call any other person to the office of evangelist or prophet from 1962 until 1988 when Prophet Yeboah was appointed the Chairman of the Church. Thus callings to the evangelistic and prophetic offices were discouraged.[93] The fact that this attitude was not well received is illustrated in the constant appeal to the Executive Council by the members to call people to the office of evangelist and also to use directive prophecy to call people into the full-time ministry.[94] The Executive had

[90] All these prayer meetings were part of the church normal activities. There were not separated from the local churches' activities. The elders who were running them were presiding elders or "local pastors."
[91] Specifically these are the rise of prophetism, schisms and the "fight" between the two churches.
[92] For example, in 1971, when Billy Graham wanted to hold a crusade in Ghana, the Church of Pentecost could not support him because his visit coincided with the Church's Easter General Convention. The Church of Pentecost, Minutes, 1971, 27.
[93] For instance, during 1968 General Council, McKeown taught on "Apostles and Prophets" and discouraged the use of directive prophecies. In addition, the General Council decided, among other things, that the leaders should try to discourage "the desire for dreams and visions during prayer meetings." The Church of Pentecost, Minutes, 1968, 10.
[94] One of the many points, for example, that Elder Simon, a highly respectable elder, raised was that "the call of overseers and elders should be made by prophecy only and not by recommendation." The Church of Pentecost, Minutes, 1968, 4. Apostle Asiamah also sees the leadership failure to call others to such

decided not to give these "labels" again, yet others were being called to the apostolic office. The problem here is that if the Executive had stopped "labelling" all types of ministry including apostles, that might have been understood, but since this was not the case, "labelling" people to the offices of evangelists and prophets always became a matter for concern. As shown already, directive prophecy among the pastorate goes along with healing and deliverance among the members. Thus the lack of the frequency of this "prophetism" in the Church was a matter of concern to some people. Accordingly, people were yearning for this sort of ministry.

4 THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHARISMATIC WAVE

4.1 The Rise of "Prophetism" within the Para-Church Movement

The trend of Christianity in Ghana changed from 1970 onwards; there was a para-church movement renewal.[95] Adubofour, who did his PhD research on the para-church movement in Ghana, indicates that although the current para-church movement began in Ghana in the 1950s, its impact on Ghanaian Christianity began to be felt in the 1970s, after it had gone through the development of indigenous features.[96] The emphasis of some of the para-church movements, especially Scripture Union, was inclined towards

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offices as a great mistake. Rev. Patrick Asiamah, Retired Executive Member, CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September 20, 1999.

[95] The para-church movements included the Scripture Union (SU), Town Fellowship (part of the national network or group of SU that operates in towns and cities instead of campuses), the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Studies (GHAFES), Ghana Evangelical Society (GES), the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association (HOVCEA), Joyful Way Incorporated and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship (FGBMF).

[96] Samuel Adubofour, "Evangelical Para-Church Movement in Ghanaian Christianity: 1950 to Early 1990s" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Edinburgh, 1994), 4. He shows that there was the attempt to begin one by the Children Special Service Mission (now Scripture Union) in the late nineteenth century, but it did not endure the two world wars.

the baptism of the Holy Spirit with experiences of speaking in tongues, prophecies and healing.[97] Since most of the members belonged to the mainline churches, whose pastors did not believe in the baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues, pastors from CoP were often invited to conduct such meetings.[98]

Through these meetings many of the members spoke in tongues and prophesied, and others claimed to have been healed and exorcised from evil spirits. Often so-called witches were found out through "revelations" from the leaders and related to the victims; such leaders became "spiritual consultants."[99] Thus here the concept of *abisa* which had already been integrated into the Spiritual churches and CoP, and as such the Pentecostal churches, had also been applied by the para-church movements. As those in the mainline churches could not demonstrate these gifts and practices in their denominations, many changed churches and joined the Pentecostal churches, especially CoP.[100] Some, however, remained faithful to their churches. Those who remained within their churches were to contribute in no small way to the Charismatic renewal in the mainline churches; their contributions, however, were enhanced by the global

[97] Adubofour, "Evangelical Para-Church Movement," 229-31, 257-64. Although, speaking in tongues was not part of the official policies of some of the movements such as SU, the indigenous flavour called for these phenomena.

[98] Dr. Johnson Asamoah-Gyadu, Personal Communication, Birmingham, November 20, 1999.

[99] For example, this sort of practice was clearly demonstrated at the SU at Santasa - Kumasi. Amoako, the then President of Santase - Kumasi chapter, often accused people of witchcraft. If they denied witchcraft possession, he would ask them to pray and find out which of them was right. Often those accused fell down and struggled. This was considered a sign of witchcraft possession and the spiritual ability of the leader. Soon Amoakoh became a "spiritual consultant." Cf. Adubofour, "Evangelical Para-Church Movement," 386-402.

[100] From this perspective, the mainline churches often accused the Church of Pentecost of stealing their sheep. This sort of accusation was reflected in the fraternal greeting of the Rev Kuffour, the Presbyterian delegate to the Church of Pentecost's General Council in 1991; The Church of Pentecost, Minutes of the 27th Session of General Council Meetings, Koforidua, April 19-21, 1991.

renewal of this movement.[101] As Atiemo shows, the Charismatic renewal satisfied the "desire of some Christians for a deeper religious experience…which the official church invariably omitted in its teaching and practice."[102]

During the 1970s and 1980s, the para-church movement began to host the crusades of visiting evangelists, a responsibility which CoP had been shouldering. The visits of Morris Cerullo in 1977 and Archbishop Benson Idahosa in 1978 were to have great impact on Christianity in Ghana.[103] Both ministers encouraged the starting up of new churches. Idahosa, for example, gave scholarships to young men and women who felt called to the ministry to be trained at his Christ for All Nations Bible School in Nigeria. Consequently, in 1979, Duncan-William, who was converted in CoP, initiated the establishment of the neo-Pentecostal churches after he had spent some months of study at Idahosa's Bible School in Nigeria.[104] Others of prominence who followed this up and started their own ministries included Charles Agyin Asare of Word Miracle

[101] For reading on global perspectives on the Charismatic movement, see Stephen Hunt., Malcolm Hamilton and Tony Walter, eds., *Charismatic Christianity: Sociological Perspective* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997); Karla Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1994); Richard Quebedeaux, *The New Charismatics 11: How a Christian Renewal Movement Became Part of the American Religious Mainstream* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983); Arnold Bittlinger, ed., *The Church is Charismatic: The Word Council of Churches and the Charismatic Renewal* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981); Kilian McDonnell, *Charismatic Renewal and the Churches* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1976); Edward D. O' Connor, *Perspectives on Charismatic Renewal* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1975); Michael P. Hamilton, ed., *The Charismatic Movement* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975), See also Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998); Paul Gifford, "Introduction: Democratisation and the Churches," in *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa,* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 1-13.

[102] Abamfo O. Atiemo, *The Rise of the Charismatic Movement in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1993), 64. For works on the Charismatic movement within the mainline Churches, in addition to Atiemo work just mentioned, see also Cephas Omenyo, "The Charismatic Renewal Movement in Ghana," *PNEUMA* 16, no. 2 (1994): 169-89; Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 72-81.

[103] Cerullo had earlier visited Ghana in 1969. His visit at that time led to the formation of the Ghana Pentecostal Council; James McKeown, Invitation to Fellowship Meeting, Accra, May 6, 1969; Sarpong, London; Elder Obu-Asare, Perosnal Communication, Ho, September 27, 1999.

[104] Christian Action Faith Ministry, *The Vision Still Lives On*, n.d.

International Christian Church, Matthew Addae-Mensah of the Gospel Light International Church (both from CoP),[105] Mensah Otabil of the Intentional Central Gospel Church (who was an Assemblies of God member and SU leader) and Doe Tetteh of Solid Rock Chapel (converted during Idahosa's crusade in 1978).[106] Thus, in addition to the renewal that the para-church movements effected in the mainline churches, it eventually produced neo-Pentecostal or Charismatic churches in Ghana. This assertion is also reflected in the works of Adubofour, Atiemo, Omenyo, Larbi and Asamoah-Gyadu.[107]

4.2 Indigenous Christianity Enhanced by Americanism

4.2.1 Local Front

Two trends developed within Ghanaian Christianity during this period which eventually led to the formation of a "theology." These are important for our discussion.

The first of these are the books and cassettes from Western preachers, especially such American preachers as Oral Roberts,[108] Kenneth Hagin, Kenneth Copeland, Reinhard Bonke and later on Benny Hinn, which were sought to enhance the preaching of many

[105] Rev Peter Ayerakwah, Interview by Author, Sefwi Asawinso, July 19; September 23, 1999.
[106] Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 266-70; Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 160-63.
[107] Adubofour, "Evangelical Para-Church Movement," 387-90. As stated already Adubofour pioneered a research into the para-church movement and thus this new trend of "Charismatic features" in Christianity in Ghana. Abamfo Atiemo, "Deliverance in the Charismatic Churches in Ghana," *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology* 2 (1994-95):39-49; Cephas Omenyo, "Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana: The Case of the Bible Study and Prayer Group of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana—Some Research Findings," *The 25 Meeting of The Society for Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Association* 10-14 July 1995: 1-26; Omenyo, "The Charismatic Renewal Movement in Ghana," Atiemo and Omenyo deal with Charismatic movement within the mainline churches; Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 262-99. Larbi's work is mainly centred on the classical Pentecostals in Ghana; Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 136-80. Asamoah-Gyadu's work focuses on the Charismatic churches in Ghana.

ministers. Many sermons followed materials drawn from these ministers, especially that of the "seed faith principle," which is centred on prosperity, set by Oral Roberts, and faith healing by Hagin.[109] This practice was very common in the 1970s and the early part of 1980s. Arguably, what made Pastor Mensah Otabil of the Central Gospel Church different from the rest was the paradigm shift that took place in his ministry to begin preparing his own sermons by drawing attention to "black consciousness."[110]

The second trend which took place at the later part of the 1980s was the interest in books and cassettes (both video and audio) which were sought to increase people's awareness of demons and how to exorcise them.[111] One of these books, published by the SU, was *Delivered from the Powers of Darkness* by the Nigerian preacher Emmanuel Eni.[112] In a vivid dramatised form, Eni gives testimony of how he became involved in the occult world. He claimed to be an agent of the Queen of the Coast (Maami Wata or water deity), who met Satan personally and was often sent to attack Christians. He presented the immense struggles that took place between the powers in him and a group of Assemblies of God church members who sought to deliver him. It

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[108] He visited Ghana in 1987.

[109] For reading on the global significance of the Faith movement, see Stephen Hunt, "'Winning Ways ': Globalisation and the Impact of the Health and Wealth Gospels," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 15, no. 3 (2000): 331-47; R. Jackson, "Prosperity Theology and Faith Movement," *Themelios* 15, no. 1 (1987): 19-24.

[110] The outcome of this approach was his book, *Beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia: A Biblical Revelation on God's Purpose for the Black Race* (Accra: Alter International, 1992). For a detailed reading about Mensah Otabil and his ministry see Larbi, "The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism," 299-329.

[111] These include, Kenneth Hagin, *Demons and How to Deal with Them* (Tulsa: Kenneth Hagin Evangelistic Association, 1976); Morris Cerullo, *The Miracle Book* (San Diego: Morris Cerullo World Evangelism, 1984).

[112] Emmanuel Eni, *Delivered from the Powers of Darkness*, 1987 (Ibadan: Scripture Union, 1988), See also Birgit Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness' Confessions of a Satanic Riches in Christian Ghana," *Africa* 65, no. 2 (1995): 237-55.

was the blood of Jesus that scared the demons.[113] Besides these, he claims that most of the things designed by fashion designers and scientists, and placed in the markets, are engineered by demons. Buying and using them attract demons to people.[114] Thus it was risky even buying things in the market. Doreen Irvine's book was also popular. Irvine shows how after involvement in Satanism and witchcraft, she went through a long period of exorcism before receiving her deliverance. Hearing the phrase "blood of Jesus" was something that was a torment to her.[115] Rebecca Brown's works, including *He Came to Set the Captive Free* also became very popular.[116] This book presents the clash between Elaine, who was said to be one of the top witches in the US, and Brown, a medical doctor who was a Christian. Elaine was said to be very powerful to the extent of destroying Christian Churches. In the struggles to save Elaine's life, Brown nearly lost her life. Elaine finally left Satan to accept Christ.

After reading all these books, some common factors emerging are that Satan is real and very powerful. It seems almost impossible to live without falling victim to his wicked devices, since the environment is full of demonic activities and products. Further, these presentations show that to overpower him (Satan), even as a Christian, is to enter into a real battle with his kingdom.[117] The weapons in overpowering him essentially involve

[113] Eni, *Delivered from the Powers of Darkness*, 34.
[114] Eni, *Delivered from the Powers of Darkness*, 26, 32.
[115] Doreen Irvine, *From Witchcraft to Christ: My True Life Story* (London: Concordia Press, 1973), 124.
[116] Rebecca Brown, *He Came to Set the Captive Free* (Springdale: Whitaker House, 1992), See also other books by Brown; Rebecca Brown, *Prepare for War* (Springdale: Whitaker House, 1987); Rebecca Brown, *Becoming a Vessel of Honour* (Springdale: Whitaker House, 1990); Rebecca Brown with Yoder Daniel, *Unbroken Curses: Hidden Source of Trouble in the Christian's Life* (Springdale: Whitaker House, 1995).
[117] For instance as Dr Brown was trying to exorcise Elaine, she writes, "during the entire eight weeks period neither one of us had more than one to two hours of unbroken sleep per night." Brown, *He Came to Set the Captive Free*, 105. What makes the presentation of Brown so terrifying is that the "battle," as

the repetitive use of the blood and name of Jesus. Although all these books are testimonies of new Christians who were sharing their subjective experiences, the ways they claim to have received freedom became models for others.

One of the videos which attracted people's attention during this period and was later published as a book, was the testimony of Victoria Eto, a Nigerian who studied in Ghana.[118] She shows how she was involved with the goddess "Maami Wata" (water deity) and also all sorts of sexual practices.[119] In another book, which echoes the myth of the Maami Wata story, Eto elaborates on how after the fall of "man" in Eden, the deity of Maami Wata was given the dominion over the sea, lakes and rivers. She explains how to discover the manifestation and delights of the Maami Wata spirit, such as putting on beads or cowries as an ornament, and also how to exorcise this type of spirit.[120] Her presentations, giving play to sexual issues, just like some books from the US on demonology,[121] gives one the impression that to survive on earth, without

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she calls it, began a week after Elaine's first deliverance or deliverance section. There was a real "battle" (several prayers of deliverance) before Elaine was set free (p.105-36).

[118] Victoria Eto, *How I Served Satan Until Jesus Christ Delivered Me: A True Accounts of My Twenty-One Years Experience as an Agent of Darkness and of My Deliverance by the Power Arm of God in Christ Jesus* (Warri: Christian Shalom Mission, 1981).

[119] Maami Wata is a concept of water spirit which originated from Nigeria. The myth goes that God created human beings in groups and then allowed each individual to take an oath of life. After the oath of life, each group had to journey through water to the land of the living. Two different gates, guarded by two deities, one water deity and the other forest, respectively lead to the world. These deities have different interests and they try to win people to their sides. The vulnerable human beings, persuaded to commit themselves to any of the deities, own an allegiance to it. Maami Wata, who is one of these deities, is believed to be half human, half fish, mainly female and lives in the sea. For reading on myth concerning Maami Wata, see, C. Achebe, *The World of Ogbanje* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension, 1986), 18-23; Misty Bastian, "Married in the Water: Spirit Kin and Other Afflictions of Modernity in Southeastern Nigerian," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27, no. 2 (1997): 123-24; Chinonyelu Moses Ugwu, *Healing in the Nigerian Church: A Pastoral-Psychological Exploration* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1998), 162-63. For how it entered into Nigerian Christianity, see Vaughan, *Origins of the Apostolic Church*, 61.

[120] Victoria Eto, *Exposition on Water Spirit* (Warri: Christian Shalom Mission, 1988).

[121] For example, see Brown, *Prepare for War*; 212-13; Peter Horrobin, *Healing Through Deliverance: The Biblical Basis*, 1991, Second Edition (London: Sovereign World, 1994), 42, 92, 159, 168-72.

contamination from the demonic, needs constant watchfulness from the demonic contaminated items, practices and people.

Another video which was popular was the North American film "the Exorcist."[122] This was supposedly based upon an authentic exorcism performed in 1949 on a 14-year old boy in Maryland by the Catholic Church. However, the film depicts the sensational story about a girl who was demon-possessed and the struggle by two Catholic priests to exorcise her. The cost of the girl's "total deliverance" was that both priests died during the exorcism. After watching the film one is left with the impression that there is a real struggle to be engaged in before a demon possessed person can be set free. Besides, nobody was saved in the battle with the demonic, not even the most powerful exorcist.

Unfortunately many Christians uncritically accepted the testimonies presented in these books and cassettes (both video and audio). But as Arnold has observed in the case of recovered memories, the explanations could be authentic,[123] confabulation,[124] malingering,[125] iatrogenesis[126] and combination.[127] Therefore, unless there has been a thorough investigation into such testimonies, people may be lured into believing allegory and speculations.

[122] William Peter Blatty, "The Exorcist" (US: William Friedkin, 1973).
[123] The genuine recollections of actual historical events.
[124] These are actual images in the mind of the patient but they do correspond to historical events.
[125] The person is intentionally making up the events and feeling illness to avoid responsibilities or for some personal gain.
[126] The therapist or counsellor has unwittingly or inadvertently suggested images that the patient makes his or her own.
[127] The memory could have a grain of truth or even an authentic framework, but many of the details could have come from other sources. Clinton E. Arnold, *Spirit Warfare* (1999), 154-55.

4.2.2 Derek Prince's Contribution

Consequently this sort of awareness had great impact on the Ghanaian churches. Some people began to use these materials in their preaching and prayer meetings. But, as Addae Mensah, an adherent, rightly told Gifford, it was met with great resistance.[128] The main reason was that with its strong emphasis on demons and subjective experiences, it was causing confusion in the churches. This sort of great resistance was to change after the visit of Derek Prince to Ghana in 1987.[129] The Ghana Pentecostal Council was requested to host his meetings.[130] Undoubtedly, Prince's contribution to deliverance ministry in Ghana was very great.

Prince asserts that one can be a Christian, baptised in the Holy Spirit and speak in tongues, yet one may still have demons, ancestral and other curses in one's life, until the Holy Spirit reveals them so that they can be dealt with.[131] He offers reasons for this theory.[132]

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[128] Gifford, *African Christianity*, 100.

[129] Derek Prince is a Britian who was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He held a fellowship in Philosophy at Cambridge from 1940 to 1949. Currently he is based in Florida in US. His books include, *Blessing and Cursing: You Can Choose* (Harpenden: Derek Prince Ministries, 1990). *From Curse to Blessing: A Transcription of the Radio Pragram Today with Derek Prince* (Lauderdale: Derek Prince Ministries, 1986); *They Shall Expel Demons: What You Need to Know About Demons-Your Invisible Enemies* (Harpenden: Derek Prince Ministries, 1998), Some people also see the role Prince played in the development of the current demonological consciousness within Christianity, for example, see Frank D. Hammond and Ida Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlour: A Practical Guide to Deliverance* (Kirkwood: Impact Books Inc., 1973), iv, 93; Hunt, "Managing the Demonic," 217, 227; Thomas Csordas, *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing* (London: University of California Press, 1994), 41; S. Strang, "Derek Prince," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, 727-28; John Richards, *But Deliver Us from Evil: An Introduction to the Demonic Dimension in Pastoral Care* (London: Darton, 1974), 172.

[130] It was not the Pentecostal Council which invited him. He wanted to minister in Ghana. Pastor David Mills, Personal Communication, Mexborough, November 28, 1998. The meetings were held in Accra and Kumasi. The present writer attended the meetings in Kumasi. The Ghana Pentecostal Council comprises most of the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Ghana.

[131] Prince, *From Curse to Blessing*, 8, 28, 36-37; Prince, *Blessing and Cursing*, 9-10; Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 157-69.

[132] For example, on demons, Prince states that demons might be in a person before he/she became a Christian. Moreover, demons might enter a person after he/she has become a Christian. He uses such passages as 1 Peter 5:8-9, 2 Corinthians 11:3, Luke 19:27 to support this claim. See, for example, Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 158, 162-63. On ancestral curses, Prince bases his assumption on Exodus 20:5; Prince,

Dwelling heavily on Matthew 11: 12, among other texts, Prince asserts that casting out a demon or renouncing a curse can be a lengthy process, and it is only forceful men who can lay hold of it.[133] Prince's stance is similar to some neo-Pentecostal ministers, some of whom had their books in circulation in Ghana. These include Basham,[134] Dickason,[135] Kraft,[136] Koch,[137] Bubeck,[138] Subritsky[139] Wimber,[140] and MacNutt.[141] Another book which did not only circulate but complemented Prince's works by its recommendation to form deliverance teams and its stress on fasting and prayer was *Pigs in the Parlour* by the Hammonds.[142]

This view of deliverance was not just significantly different from that of the classical Pentecostals, who had refused to accept the possibility of a Christian being possessed by

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Blessing and Cursing, 16-25. Prince quotes lots of scriptural passages to support his view on other curses. These include Deuteronomy 27:15-26, Jeremiah 17:5-6 and Zechariah 5:1-4. See Prince, *From Curse to Blessing*, 22-26.

[133] Prince, *Blessing and Cursing*, 190-98; Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 235.

[134] Don Basham, *Can a Christian Have a Demon* (Monroeville: Whitaker House, 1971). Basham argues in this book why he believes that a Christian can have a demon.

[135] Dickason clearly states that "I have encountered from 1974 to 1987 at least 400 cases of those who were genuine Christians who were also demonised." C. Fred Dickason, *Demon Possession and the Christian* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1987), 175.

[136] Kraft declares that "the evidence that Christians can be (and frequently are) demonised is so conclusive that we can be dogmatic about asserting it." Charles H. Kraft, *Defeating the Dark Angels* (Kent: Sovereign World, 1993), 66.

[137] Kurt E. Koch, *Occult Bondage and Deliverance* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1970); Kurt E. Koch, *Demonology, Past and Present*, 1973, Reprinted (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1981). Though Koch's books were not popular in Ghana, they are cited here, since his views follow that of Derek Prince.

[138] Mark I. Bubeck, *Overcoming the Adversary* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1984); Mark I. Bubeck, *The Adversary* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1975).

[139] Bill Subritsky, *Demons Defeated* (Chichester: Sovereign World, 1986).

[140] John Wimber and Kevin Springer, *Power Evangelism*, 1985, New Edition with Guide (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992), 168-69, 176-77; John Wimber and Kevin Springer, *Power Healing*, Fourth Impression (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988).

[141] Francis MacNutt argues that "if sin lives within me [a Christian] and robs me of my freedom of action, is it inconceivable that an evil spirit might not also be infesting that corner of my being?" Francis MacNutt, *Deliverance from Evil Spirits: A Practical Manual* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995), 76.

[142] Hammond and Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlour*.

a demon,[143] but has made it more complicated by introducing the ancestral curse notion[144] and the need for a forceful prayer of deliverance. Hickey and McAll also deal with the issue of ancestral or generational curses. Yet Hickey makes it easy to be accepted; she stresses that "the instant you repent of your sins, the curse is broken."[145] There is, however, a remarkably close parallel of Prince's teaching in McAll, who indicates that deliverance from the family tree "is no one-step miracle pill to be swallowed on the impulse. It is, rather, a long course of treatment, sometimes painful."[146] Nonetheless, the difference is that while McAll tells his story from medical and religious experience, Prince (and his group) draws from the Bible and makes a theology out of it.[147] Thus Prince's assertion becomes a matter of theological concern. The problem with Prince's assertion is that he offers poor exegesis on his foundational texts of Exodus 20: 4-5 and Matthew 11: 12. For example, while Exodus 20:5 indicates that the Lord punishes the father for his sins and the punishment continues to the children, it really explains that the punishment continues "to the third and fourth generations of those who hate [disobey] me." Thus, here his exposition fails to explain what the "curse" is and how it continues to function through "hate," that is, disobedience to the Lord. Like other biblical scholars, Clements rightly argues that "this is not an assertion of divine vindictiveness, but a reflection of ancient legal

[143] W. K. Kay, *Inside Story: A History of British Assemblies of God* (Mattersey: Mattersey Hall, 1990), 337; Warrington, "Healing and Exorcism, 173. Hunt, "Managing the Demonic," 217; Steven S. Carter, "Demon Possession," 19.
[144] Note ancestral curse is also called generation curse or family tree. See Marilyn Hickey, *Breaking the Generation Curse* (Denver: Marilyn Hickey's Ministry, 1988); Kenneth McAll, *Healing the Family Tree*, 1982, Eleventh Impression (London: Sheldon Press, 1997).
[145] Hickey, *Breaking the Generation Curse*, 88.
[146] McAll, *Healing the Family Tree*, 7.
[147] Another minister who promotes the belief of generational curses is the US based evangelist Vito Rallo. He does not offer expositions of biblical texts used. Vito Rallo, *Breaking Generational Curses & Pulling Down Strongholds* (Lake Mary: Creation House Press, 2000), 32-37.

practice."[148] Prince also fails to point to the next verse which emphasises that the Lord shows love to a thousand generations of those who love him (Ex. 20:6).[149] The issue, therefore, is "guilt and consequential punishment" as Arnold puts it, and cannot be familiar spirits passing on to the third and fourth generation.[150] This makes Prince's hypothesis of ancestral spirits or familiar spirits passing on from generation to generation groundless. Again to use Matthew 11: 12 to establish a theory on "forcefulness" in prayer to pass from a curse to blessing is out of context, despite the various interpretations offered on this text, forcefulness in prayer is not included; the context portrays the kingdom of God in relation to the ministry of John the Baptist.[151]

Nevertheless, since the Ghana Pentecostal Council hosted Derek Prince, *obroni* (a white man) and a Bible scholar, who taught through his personal experience that Christians could be demonised and tormented by ancestral curses, his teaching coupled with the development so far discussed, found fertile ground in Ghana; it appealed to the traditional worldview.

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[148] In practice all members of a household were regarded as implicated in the guilt incurred by any one of their number. Ronald E. Clements, *The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible: Exodus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1972), 124. See also Cole who sees in the text "natural results." Alan Cole, *Exodus: An Introduction and Commentary* (London: The Tyndale Press, 1973), 156.

[149] See Brevard S. Child, *Exodus: Old Testament Library*, trans. J. E. Adams G. Ernest Wright, Wright, John Bright, James Barr, Peter Ackroyd, eds. (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1974), 405-06.

[150] Arnold, *Spiritual Warfare*, 132; cf. Cole, *Exodus*, 56.

[150] Arnold, *Spiritual Warfare*, 132.

[151] For a detailed discussion on this text, see John P. Meier, "John the Baptist in Matthew," *JBL* 99 (1980): 383-405; Matthew D. A. Carson, *The Expositors Bible Commentary, Volume 8: Matthew*, Frank E. Gæbelein, ed. Revised for Volume 8 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1984), 265-68; W. D. Davies and Dale Allison jr., *The International Critical Commentary: The Gospel According to Saint Matthew Volume 11 (VIII-XVIII)*, 1991, J. A. Emerson, C. E. B. Cranfield and G. N. Stanton, eds. Latest Impression (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 253-56; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church Under Persecution*, 1982, Second Edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans,

4.2.3 Development within the Church of Pentecost

This trend coincided with the death of Pastor Safo, the Chairman of CoP and President of the Ghana Pentecostal Council, in July 1987. When Safo observed in 1985 that bizarre practices of *abisa*, especially the extraction of confessions from delivered witches, were going on in CoP, he issued a circular letter advising all the pastors to desist from such practices.[152] His death partially meant a relaxation on such a strong position on "weird" practices in "prophetism."[153] After his death, Prophet Yeboah prophesied in the Apostles and Prophets prayer meeting at Aburi that Pastor J. K. Ennumh should be called to the office of a Prophet. Although the meeting felt the said pastor should be observed for sometime, Ennumh also prophesied that Yeboah should be appointed the next Chairman of the Church in April 1988 at the General Council of the Church.[154] The General Council unanimously approved of Yeboah's appointment through the ballot box. The prophetic office was conferred on Ennumh a month later, during an Extraordinary General Council.[155] The practice of "directive prophecies" began in CoP again. Pastors such as Baidoo, Ntumy[156] and Arthur were called to the apostleship, Osei to prophetic office, and Ayerakwah, Nyarko and Chemel to evangelistic office.[157] Thus as prophetism revived in the pastorate, it also revived

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1994), 209-211; Bruce R. Chilton, *God in Strength: Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom* (Freistadt: F. Plöchl, 1977), 203-04.

[152] F. S. Safo, Pastoral Letter to all Pastor, Accra, July 13, 1985.

[153] Pastor Safo was one of the pastors who stood against the operations of what he called "self-appointed prophets and prophetesses " in the Church in the 1950s; Ashanti Religion, The Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Ashanti Regional Presbytery, Bibiani, September 5, 1959.

[154] The Church of Pentecost, Minutes of 25th Session of General Council Meeting, Takoradi, 1988.

[155] The Church of Pentecost, Minutes of the 2nd Session of the Extra Ordinary General Council Meeting, Takoradi, May 20-22, 1988.

[156] The current chairman of the Church.

[157] For example, see the Church of Pentecost, Minutes of 27th Session of General Council Meeting, Koforidua 1991; The Church of Pentecost, Reports of the All Ministers Prayer Meeting, Koforidua, April 7-9, 1992.

among the members, but as happened in the 1950s that of the members was to take a different form—healing and exorcism.

Consequently, the development of "prophetism" after the death of Pastor Safo in CoP in a way favoured the ongoing deliverance ministry sanctioned by Prince in Ghana. The point of intersection of the two ministries lies in the ability to divine, predict, prognosticate or diagnose a problem through a "supernatural power."[158]

4.2.4 Emeka Nwankpa's Contribution

Meanwhile, after Prince's visit in 1987 "deliverance" became one of the subjects that was handled by the All Pastors Annual Conference organised by Challenge Enterprise Limited.[159] This was an important annual conference, since besides the training which leaders received, a pack of books was given to pastors at a reduced price. Thus if a pastor did not want to attend the meeting, he might do so, because of the pack of books. Books on deliverance found their place in the pack.[160] Deliverance ministers, such as Mark Bubeck and Emeka Nwankpa, were later invited to be speakers at such conferences. Nwankpa, a Nigerian, is a lawyer by profession and very eloquent. His ministry attracted the Pentecost Student and Associates (PENSA), the students' wing of CoP. He was invited to be the main speaker in PENSA's biannual conference in August

[158] The case of the Church of Pentecost is seen in the appointing of a person to the chairmanship of Church and also of other callings through prophecies. The appointment of a Chairman for example is considered a major problem in the Church.
[159] The Challenge Enterprises Limited is a para-church organisation which was set up by the Sudan Interior Mission in 1956 and passed on to a Ghanaian management in 1975. It sells Christian literature at discounted prices and runs films ministry for towns and villages.
[160] These include Jack Deere, *Surprised by the Power of the Spirit: Discovering How God Speaks and Heals Today* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993); Charles H. Kraft, *I Give You This Authority* (Grand

1990 at Aburi in Ghana.[161] Nwankpa's ministry was based on ancestral curses. With scriptural references, one of the examples that Nwankpa used to prove the effect of sexual curses in particular families was the line of Judah in the Bible.[162] Just like Prince, he concluded that unless the curses were found out in the life of the Christians, they would keep on struggling. Nonetheless, unbiblical beliefs undergird Nwankpa's presentation. For instance, he said that unless one was able to find out clearly the cause of a curse in one's family and break it, one would not be delivered. But this was to undermine the biblical emphasis on personal acknowledgement of one's responsibility.[163] Moreover, Nwankpa did not take into consideration the moral weaknesses of other men who did not come from Judah's tribe, such as those reported in Numbers 25:1-9, and that of Samson.[164] Regardless of these, most of his hearers accepted his teachings as very good examples of the power of ancestral curses among Christian families. His teaching was considered a confirmation of Prince's theory.

Rapids: Chosen Books, 1998); Elmer L. Towns, *Fasting for Spiritual Breakthrough* (California: Regal Books, 1996).

[161] I was the "Regional Pastor" who hosted the Conference. For Nwankpa's teaching on intercession and territorial spirits, see Emeka Nwankpa, "The Unchanging God," Cassettes, Aburi, August, 1991.

[162] He showed that there was a curse upon the tribe of Judah because of Judah's incestuous relationship with his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen. 38:13-28). The manifestation of this curse was seen in the life of David, who committed adultery with Bathsheba, Uriah's wife (2 Sam. 11:1-5), the life of David's son Amnon, when he raped his half sister Tamar(2 Sam. 13:1-21), in the life of Solomon who married many wives (1 Kings 11:1-8). See Nwankpa, "The Unchanging God."

[163] Cf. Deut. 24:16; Eze. 18:1-20.

[164] 1 Sam. 14-16.

4.3. Testimonies of Ghanaians "Delivered" "Witches" and Traditional Priests/Priestesses

Following the testimonies shared in the books which have been cited already and the teachings of deliverance ministers, such as Prince and Nwankpa, some Ghanaians who were involved in the traditional religions and who claimed to have been delivered from satanic powers and witchcraft began to share their testimonies. Various para-church movements and churches began to invite such people to share their testimonies just as the two Nigerians, Eni and Eto, were invited. One of such persons who began to share her testimony in the 1980s was Nana Amma Owusua. She became a Christian and joined CoP.

Nana Owusua said that as a child whatever she thought of came to pass. An example was that one day at school she wished fire to come and set ablaze the school cupboard full of books, and this came to pass. Then another day while at school a certain deity took possession of her. She was taken to the bush and stayed with dwarfs for some months. During this period, she claims that she got involved in the Maami Wata spirit (water deity), which according to her, originated in India. On her return, she was sent to an experienced *ɔkɔmfoɔ* (traditional priest) to be trained in the profession. This implies that she could not complete her schooling. After this training, she became a very powerful priestess, whom many people consulted. Dwelling on her experience as a traditional priest, she claimed to disclose how witches and demons attack Christians, that which confirms the Akan traditional witchcraft beliefs. She related how through a sister, who was a member of CoP, she became a Christian. Her "deliverance" was a

battle between the sister and herself on one side and her powers on the other side. During her testimony, she interspersed preaching, especially the need to receive Christ, and also believed in the working of supernatural powers. Her testimony became useful material for evangelism for some churches. The testimony was compiled on two one-hour cassettes for sale. Some para-church movements and church groups invited her to share her testimonies. For example, in 1990, the Methodist Church of Ghana invited her to give her testimony during their annual church conference.[165] Many other Ghanaians who claimed to have such experiences also began to share their testimonies. These people included Ɔbaa Yaa, Ɔkɔmfoɔ Rasta, Evangelist Kanco and Agya Poku. Some of their testimonies were produced on cassette for sale; others were published in newspapers and pamphlets.[166]

The sort of literature and testimonies from these people created the ever present awareness of Satan, witches and demons, and emphasised the need to be protected and delivered from their evil deeds. In addition to this, some Christians seemed to have been frustrated and depressed as a result of the "failure" which seem to follow the vain promises which the "faith healing ministry" and "prosperity gospel" offered. People began to find reasons for the failure to prosper, heal or get things moving in the right direction in ancestral curses, witches, demons, sorcery or simply put, in supernatural

[165] Nana Amma Owusua, Produced by Audio Visual Dept., The Church of Pentecost, Life Testimony, n.d; Nana Amma Owusua, Delivered *Ɔkɔmfoɔ*, Interview by Author, Newalk, March 30, 2001; Yeboah, Interview by Author.

[166] Agya Poku, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Kumasi, August 4, 1997; Ɔbaa Yaa, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Adenta, August 10, 1997; P. Kumah, "Fetish Priestess Surrenders," *Watchman* , 18 no. 92 (n.d.), 1, 7; Aaron K. Vuha, Understanding & Overcoming Witchcraft & Witches, Tema, n. d.

powers. The next chapter is concerned about how some Pentecostal Christians endeavour to deal with the situation.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONTEMPORARY "WITCHDEMONOLOGY" IN THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST: 1988-2000

1 INTRODUCTION

It was shown in the previous chapter that although the Church of Pentecost began from the classical Pentecostal background, the visit of the Latter Rain team to Ghana revived "prophetism" that was lurking within the psyche of the Akan Christians, leading to the emergence of a healing and deliverance ministry within CoP. As a result of misunderstanding between the leadership and the "lay prophets/prophetesses," this sort of ministry was somehow suppressed. Nevertheless, it was shown that the influence of American preachers and the Charismatic renewal, specifically the teachings and testimonies on demonic and ancestral curses, reinvigorated the Ghanaians' awareness of the supernatural powers, believed to torment people and block their progress. Moreover, it was realised that to be set free from these inimical forces was a real battle and needed a long period of struggle. As missiologist Hesselgrave observes, "it is natural for men to decode new information in terms of previous experience."[1] Consequently, some Christians within CoP (and other churches in Ghana) began to reinterpret these teachings in culturally relevant ways and put them into practice. The outcome of this reformulation is what this thesis refers to as "witchdemonology" and this becomes our concern in this chapter.

[1] David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), 111.

2 "WITCHDEMONOLOGY"

2.1 Definition

The thesis coins the term "witchdemonology" instead of the usual western terms "demonology" and "witchcraft," because firstly, the traditional definitions of the terms "demonology" and "witchcraft" do not fit into the Ghanaian situations.[2] Secondly, the understanding and practices in the Ghanaian scene, as will soon be presented, are a synthesis of both Western and Ghanaian concepts, especially that of Akan traditional religion where the witch is always the focus.[3] Birgit Meyer notices the centrality of witchcraft in the Ghanaian image of the Devil and the imagination of evil when she writes, "in the video cinemas, where people can enjoy a film for next to nothing, they can see, alongside Western movies, horror films produced in Ghana with the Devil and his consorts—*particularly witches*—playing the leading parts [emphasis mine]."[4] Again, the "mentor" of this kind of ministry in Ghana, Derek Prince, hits the nail on the head when he writes that "as we trace the tortuous, deceptive paths of demonic activity and the occult, we discover that they all proceed from one primal source:

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[2] For example, as stated elsewhere in this thesis, in the West the definition of witchcraft includes the worship of Satan, the practice of magic and sorcery; Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Witchcraft* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 8; H. E. Wedeck and W. Baskin, *A Dictionary of Spiritualism* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1971), 364; Hans Holzer (Introduction), *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Witches, Demons, Sorcerers, and Their Present Day Counterparts*, 1970-1971, Cathay Books Edition (London: Cathay Books, 1974), 18. The definition of demonology also includes "malevolent spirits having supernatural powers and dedicated to destruction." (Ibid. 195). See also A. Merriam-Webster, *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1898, Federick C. Mish, Ward E. Gilman, James G. Lowe, Robert D. McHenry and Roger W. Pease Jr. etc. eds. Based on Webster's Third New International Dictionary (Springfield: Merriam-Webster, Inc. 1984), 338.

[3] Ghanaian terms usually used are witchcraft (*bayie* – Akan, *aye*- Ga, *adze* – Ewe, *ayen* – Fanti.

[4] Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness'," 237. Further, the title of one of Meyer's articles makes the idea clearer, "'If You Are a Devil, You Are a Witch, and If You Are a Witch, You Are a Devil': The Integration of 'Pagan' Ideas Into the Conceptual Universe of Ewe Christians in Southeastern Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXII (1992): 98-132. Cf. T. C. McCaskie, "Anti-Witchcraft Cult in Asante: An Essay in the Social History of an African People," *History of Africa* 8 (1981): 137.

witchcraft"(his emphasis).[5] Thus Prince's assertion applies well to the Ghanaian concept. Similarly, Gifford observes that "many African preachers can find nothing good in African culture and categorize all of it as 'witchcraft,'"[6] Thus while some Westerners concern themselves with demons, Ghanaians, while accepting the Western term, reformulate it within their concept of *bayie* (witchcraft) in a new way which is a combination of the terms witchcraft and demonology. The term "witchdemonology," coined from both terms, therefore, seems to fit into the situation more than the term "demonology" or "witchcraft." Hence "witchdemonology" is used in this thesis to describe the beliefs and practices of "deliverance ministry" in Ghana which this thesis assumes is a synthesis of the practices and beliefs of Akan witchcraft and Western Christian concepts of demonology and exorcism.[7]

2.2 Major Players

Major players of "witchdemonology" in CoP during the 1980s and 1990s include Elders Emmanuel A. Boate (banker), Paul Owusu Tabiri (businessman who later became an Evangelist), Antwi Bekoe (poultry farmer), Elders Dr Peter Ohene Kyei and Dr S. A. Arthur, and Pastors Peter Ayerakwah and Jimmy Markin.[8] In addition to these people, the prayer camp concept, which went underground, was revived to cater for this ministry.[9] Other churches and para-church movements also formed prayer groups for

[5] Derek Prince, *They Shall Expel Demons: What You Need to Know About Demons-Your Invisible Enemies* (Harpenden: Derek Prince Ministries, 1998), 141.
[6] Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan D. Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (London: Routledge, 1996), 178.
[7] See Chapter One, section 6 for definitions of terms. See also 2.3.4 below.
[8] S. A. Arthur, "Deliverance," *Bethel News* (Accra) n. d., 6, 7-10; Paul Owusu Tabiri, "What I Mean by Breaking," *Bethel News* 5 (1994): 5-7, 22, 25; Peter Ohene Kyei, *Obedience*, Cassette (Sunyani: Bethel Prayer Camp, 1995).
[9] This will be discussed later in the paper.

this same purpose, and the Scripture Union was a major instrument in this area. The prominent personalities among them were Brother Francis Akwasi Amoako, Scripture Union President and Assemblies of God member at Santase-Kumasi who started the Resurrection Prayer Ministry, Aaron Vuha of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana who led Prayer Warriors at Nungua, and Evangelist Vagalas Kanco also from the Assemblies of God in Accra who started the Lord's Vineyard Ministry. Both Amoako[10] and Kanco[11] turned their prayer groups into churches. The impact of the ministries of these people on Ghanaian Christianity has been enormous. A few Ghanaians have written about some aspects of "witchdemonology."[12] The contents of this "theology" as

[10] Amoaka had a strong personality and was very outspoken. This made him popular in Ghana. Ɔkɔmfoɔ Rasta, mentioned in Chapter Four, became a Christian through Amoako's ministry. He was invited to conduct deliverance services in many places. He was returning from one of such meetings when he met his tragic death in a car accident in 1990. His popularity and radical pronouncements against the government generated a rumour that the government of Ghana was involved in his death. K. Serebuor-Badu, "Who Killed Evangelist Amoako?" *Christian Messenger* (Accra), July/August 1990, 3. For reading on Amoako, see Adubofour, "Evangelical Para-Church Movement," 386-402.

[11] Evangelist Kanco claimed to have been delivered from a family *abosomsom* (worship of the family god) and *bayie* (witchcraft) and have received power from God to deliver those who have similar problems. From this past experience he became well known and had many adherents. For a brief reading on Kanco and his deliverance ministry, see Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 247-49.

[12] These publications include Cudjoe-Mensah, *Satan and His Tricks* (Kumasi: St Mary's, 1989); Aaron K. Vuha, *The Package: Salvation, Healing and Deliverance* (Accra: EP Church of Ghana, 1993); Aaron K. Vuha, *The Package: Salvation, Healing and Deliverance*, Second Edition (Accra: The Prayer Warriors International, 1994); Aaron K. Vuha, *Covenants and Curses: Why Does God Not Intervene* (Accra: The Prayer Warriors, 1994); Aaron K. Vuha, "Understanding & Overcoming Witchcraft & Witches" (Tema: n. p., n. d.); Opoku Onyinah, *Ancestral Curses* (Accra: The Church of Pentecost, 1994); Opoku Onyinah, *Overcoming Demons* (Accra: The Church of Pentecost Press, 1995); Kwaku Dua-Agyeman, *Covenant, Curses and Cure* (Kumasi: n.p., 1994). The author of this book was an Anglican father who resigned to start the Rhema World Outreach Ministries based in Kumasi; Emmanuel Yaw Sarfo, *The Untold Truth of the Origin of Satan* (London: Janus Publishing Company, 1997); Stephen Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons: Teachings on Deliverance with Numerous Practical Testimonies of Deliverance from Demons* (Kumasi: U. G. C. Publishing House, 1999); Francis Dwomoh, *Spiritual Warfare at Its Best* (Piraeus: Jesus Christ is the Answer of Life Int. Ministries, 1997). For academic works on some aspects of demonology in Ghana see Omenyo, "The Charismatic Renewal." Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness'." Birgit Meyer, "Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse," in *Memory and the Post Colony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power*, Richard Werbner, ed. (London: Zed Books, 1998); Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); Gifford, *African Christianity*, 57-111; Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 239-86.

discovered through my survey, interviews and some of these booklets are presented in what follows.

2.3 Contents

2.3.1 Reality of Witchcraft, Demons and Gods

"Witchdemonology" is based on the concept that witchcraft is real, just as presented in Chapter Two of this thesis.[13] My data from the 1999 survey of 1201 participants, conducted across the country although focused on the Akan, shows a relatively even distribution across education and occupational categories, and affirms this assertion. Neither age, sex nor denominational background made any significant difference. For example, on the question, "is witchcraft real?" 91.7% of all respondents said yes, 7.7% said no and 0.7% were not sure.[14] Concerning denominational background, while 93.2% (out of 945) of CoP members said yes, 6.3% said no, 0.5% were not sure; of the Methodist Church, 90.9% (out of 22) said yes and 9.1% said no. The educational background showed that out of the 18 people who held a degree and responded, 100% said yes, while 85% (out of 69) of those who did not have any official schooling said yes, and 15% said no. With marital status, out of 330 singles, 90.2% said yes, 9% said no and 0.8% were unsure; 92.3% out of 707 married couples said yes, 7% said no, 0.7% were unsure. Thus it is apparent that socio-economic status by education, occupation, age, sex, denomination and marital status does not matter; the belief in witchcraft cut

[13] For example, see Vuha, "Witchcraft"; Editor, "Testimonies," *Bethel News*, (n. d.), 5. This edition carries pictures of money and so-called human meat which is alleged to have come from witches.
[14] Of the 924 male respondents 91.3% said yes, 8% said no and 0.7% were not sure. With the 277 female respondents 92.1% said yes, 7.2% said no and 0.7% was not sure.

across all these.[15] It is noteworthy to observe that contrary to Parrinder's prediction that "an enlightened religion, education, medicine and better social and racial conditions, will help to dispel witchcraft beliefs,"[16] our survey shows that most educated people did not doubt the reality of witchcraft. [17]

Among the respondents, the terms "witch" and "witchcraft" are used synonymously with the terms "demon" "demonology" and "evil spirit." There is no clear definition of witchcraft. Adu-Boahen's definition clearly features the Akan Christian concept, "witchcraft is the art of being consciously possessed by evil, demonic spirits and collaborating with them to commit evil acts in line with Satan's evil aim of killing, stealing and destroying, especially in *one's family* (italic mine)."[18] Vuha's definition includes the "practices of the occult, such as 'Transcendental Meditation,' sorcery, magic, the casting of hexes, and all fetish practices…."[19] Note the synthesis of the biblical and the Akan beliefs in Adu-Boahen's definition. The evil aim of "killing, stealing and destroying" clearly is the adoption of John 10:10, and the emphasis of "especially in one's family" is the application of the Akan belief that the witch operates within one's family.[20] Vuha's definition, which includes transcendental meditation and casting of hexes also reflects Western demonological ideas.

[15] See Tables A-F.
[16] George Parrinder, *Witchcraft: A Critical Study of the Belief in Witchcraft from the Records of Witch Hunting in Europe Yesterday and Africa Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 202-03.
[17] Cf. A similar survey conducted in Malawi of 25 theological students which is similar to this one. Joseph Martin Hopkins, "Theological Students and Witchcraft Beliefs," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XI, no. 1 (1980): 56-57.
[18] Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons*, 59.
[19] Vuha, "Witchcraft," 1.
[20] See Chapter Two, section 3.

Consequently, witchcraft is directly linked with demonology. During my interviews, one of the questions I often asked was "what is the difference between witchcraft and demonology?" The majority of people assumed the two concepts to be the same. In fact most of the people did not understand the question I was asking, which made it appear that I was trying to impose something on them. However, some of the scholars, such as Elder Boate, Pastor John Nana Anto and Pastor Markin, all from Pentecostal circles, and others outside this circle, like Ɔsɔfo Quarm and Professor Akesson, were clear in their verbal differentiations. For them, witchcraft is the repressed feeling directed against a person. Nana Anto explains that because God created Adam as a living soul, he was very powerful and superior. After the fall he was described as flesh. Yet the power of the soul was not obliterated completely, rather it was hidden in the soul. He then advances that witchcraft is to study and learn some of the techniques and tricks of reactivating the latent power of the soul for one's benefit; this was why Paul linked it with the works of the flesh in Galatians 5:19-21.[21] This line of interpretation is influenced by Watchman Nee, the Chinese Christian, who, basing his understanding on the Genesis accounts of creation, asserts that although there is latent power in the soul of human beings, God forbids its employment by them.[22]

[21] Professor John Nana Anto, Administrative Manager, Ghana Pentecostal Council, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, October 6, 1999; Elder Emmanuel A. Boate, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, August 15, 1999; Ɔsɔfo Kwasi Dankam Quarm, Acting Director of Traditional Medicine, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, August 23, 1999; Vuha, "Witchcraft," 1-3.
[22] Watchman Nee, *The Latent Power of the Soul* (New York: Christian Fellowship Publishers, Inc., 1972), 9-28.

Demon possession is described by respondents as the entry of a demon into one's body without one's consent. Witchcraft is taken as an advanced form of spirit possession.[23] Thus there appears to be a difference between the way some scholars understand witchcraft and demonology and that of the "ordinary people." Yet the difference is only a nuance, since all these Pentecostal scholars interviewed also say that almost all witches are demon possessed. Thus, although in theory there appears to be a difference, yet in practice both are the same. This is an indication of how Western demonology has penetrated the minds of some scholars, yet the application is being made with the lens of Ghanaian culture.

From this background, it is assumed that almost all *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priests) are witches. When asked the question, "what is the relationship that exists between witches and traditional priests?" 79.9% said they work together, 7.2 % said no relation and 12.9% said no idea. All the self-claimed witches and those who claimed to have been delivered from witchcraft I interviewed said they work together. On a question, is every *ɔkɔmfoɔ* (traditional priest) a witch? 77. 2% said yes, 10.3% said no, 12.5% had no idea. Similarly, on the question of the sort of relationship that exists between witches and sorcerers, 59% said they work together, 13.4% said no relation, and 26.6% said no idea/not stated. On the question, "do we have good witches?" 12.5% said yes, 83.8% said no, 3.7% said no idea/not stated. Here, within the Pentecostal circles, *abayifoɔ* (witches), *akɔmfoɔ* (priests) and *adutotoɔ* (sorcerers) are all placed on one scale—evil and demonic—against the traditional belief that the services of priests are helpful to

[23] Anto, Interview; cf. Boate, Interview.

society.[24] Thus the missionaries' ideology, as presented in Chapter Three, is carried forward by the Pentecostals in a concrete form.

2.3.2 Origin of Demons and Gods

The origin of demons is not a major issue. Many Pentecostals in Ghana, based on traditional Christian belief and the writings of Charismatic like Dickason, Kraft and Hagin, link demons with fallen angels.[25] Some, however, follow different lines of interpretation.[26] The "fallen angels" viewpoint alleges that these beings (fallen angels) with disembodied spirits, called demons, find themselves in rivers, seas, mountains, rocks, trees and humans. The worship of family gods, offering of animals to the gods, blackening of kings/family stools and the pouring of libation, all attract them (demons). These demons are also said to enter *abamo* (personal "fetish") such as those made to protect *ntaa* (twins) and *badu* (tenth born). Such spirit beings can be turned into human beings and participate in normal human activities such as trading and sexual acts. Thus purchases at the market and having sex with a strange person needs to be treated with caution.[27] Here also the Pentecostals follow the lines of the interpretation of the

[24] See Chapter Two, section 2.5, see also section 3.1 of same chapter for the traditional concept of *bayie*.
[25] Vuha, *The Package*, 36; Onyinah, *Overcoming Demons*, 7-10. Cf. C. Fred Dickason, *Demon Possession and the Christian* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1987), 24; Kraft, *Defeating the Dark Angels*, 19; Kenneth Hagin, *Demons and How to Deal with Them* (Tulsa: Kenneth Hagin Evangelistic Association, 1976), 3-6; Merrill F. Unger, *Biblical Demonology: A Study of Spiritual Forces at Work Today*, 1963, Fifth Edition (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1994), 42.
[26] John Nana Anto, following the controversial Ki Don Kim's Berean theology, considered demons to be the spirit of unbelieving dead people. Emmanuel Sarfo sees the whole teaching on Satan as "a big error." For him, "the Satanic Kingdom was created by God and for Him. The reason is that all things work together for the glory of God, good and evil." Sarfo, *Origin of Satan*, 36. Both teachings have not had a remarkable impact on Ghanaian Christianity. Significantly the mentor of Ghanaian "witchdemonology," Derek Prince, does not hold that demons are fallen angels, rather he is inclined to the pre-Adamic race theory of origin, this is the belief that demons are the spirits that once occupied the bodies of members of some pre-Adamic race who led ungodly and sinful lives. Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 99-103.
[27] For discussion on demonic contacts with human beings and their activities, see Birgit Meyer, "Commodities and Power of Prayer: Pentecostalist Attitudes Toward Consumption in Contemporary

missionaries, but with a significant difference. The difference is that unlike the missionaries who classified these *abosom* as demons without powers, these assume that there is real power in them which wages war against people.

2.3.3 Territorial Spirits

Such a concept of the origin of demons and gods leads to the strong belief in the "territorial spirits," specifically promoted by "Third Wave" theologian, Peter Wagner.[28] Some scholars, especially the North American New Testament scholar Guelich have rightly pointed out that the popular understanding of the character of contemporary spiritual warfare, with its excessive interest in demonic hierarchy, has been captured by Peretti's novel, *This Present Darkness*.[29] "Territorial spirits" denote the notion that demons assume a hierarchy with powers of greater and lesser rank having specific geographical assignments. Expounding Daniel 10:31, the principal text for this concept, Adu-Boahen, from a Ghanaian perspective, explains that "the Prince of Persia … is a picture of how Satan, through idol worship and other forms of demon worship, has come to control families, tribes, and states."[30] Ultimately, just like the missionaries, the worship of such gods is considered to be the real source of poverty and "backwardness"

Ghana," *Development and Change* 29 (1998): 751-76; Adeline Masquelier, "Narratives of Power, Images of Wealth: The Ritual Economy of Bori in the Market," in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, eds. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 3-33.

[28] C. Peter Wagner, *Warfare Prayer* (Ventura: Regal, 1991); C. Peter Wagner, *Warfare Prayer: How to Seek God's Power and Protection in the Battle to Build His Kingdom* (Ventura: Regal, 1992); C. Peter Wagner, ed., *Engaging the Enemy: How to Fight and Defeat Territorial Spirits* (Ventura: Regal, 1993); C. Peter Wagner, *Confronting the Powers: How the New Testament Church Experienced the Power of Strategic Level Spiritual Warfare* (Ventura: Regal, 1996); Peter Wagner was a former Professor of Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary.

[29] Robert A. Guelich, "Spiritual Warfare: Jesus, Paul and Peretti," *PNEUMA* 13, no. 1 (1991): 34. See also 33-64; Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), 281-84; Frank Peretti, *This Present Darkness* (Westchester: Crossway Book, 1986), 34.

for Africans.[31] In other words, African problems do not depend upon scientific and modern development, but upon the controlling powers of various territorial spirits. Consequently, in Ghana, the pluralistic view taken by the Government during national functions, whereby a Muslim is asked to pray, a traditional priest or his spokesman is asked to pour libation, after a Christian minister has prayed, has strongly been opposed by some Christians.[32] "To break free" from these territorial spirits is to be involved in what Wagner calls "Strategic-Level Spiritual Warfare."[33] At the heart of this warfare is a threefold approach: discerning the territorial spirits, dealing with the corporate sin of a city, and engaging in aggressive warfare against the territorial spirits.[34] This teaching has not only impacted a few people in Ghana, but the whole continent of Africa. Some scholars, such as Oshun and Nwankpa, have stressed the need to wage "spiritual

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[30] Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons*, 116.

[31] See Emeka Nwankpa, *Redeeming the Land: Interceding for the Nations* (Achimota: African Christian Press, 1994), 9; Chris O. Oshun, "Spirits and Healing in a Depressed Economy: The Case of Nigeria," *Mission Studies* 25-1 (1998): 33.

[32] Formerly, following the colonial masters, it was only the Christian minister who was asked to pray. Jerry Appiah, then a PhD candidate at University of Birmingham, was astonished when during one of such functions, in his presence, some pastors, including the Christian Council representative, walked away in protest. Jerry Jehu Appiah, Personal Communication, London, May 6, 2000

[33] Wagner, *Warfare Prayer*. Wagner presents the comprehensive detail of this strategy in this book. See also Gwen Shaw, *Redeeming the Land: A Bible Study on Dislodging Evil Spirits, Breaking the Curse and Restoring God's Blessing Upon the Land* (Japer, Arkansas, 1987). The publication of this book preceded Wagner's, yet they shared similar ideas.

[34] These approaches have been expounded by proponents of this ministry. The first, discerning the territorial spirits assigned to the city, was expounded by George Otis Jr. See George Jr. Otis, *The Last of the Giants: Lifting the Veil on Islam and the End Times* (Grand Rapids: Chosen, 1993), 32; George Jr. Otis, "An Overview of Spiritual Mapping," in *Breaking Strongholds in Your City: How to Use Spiritual Mapping to Make Prayers More Strategic, Effective, and Targeted*, C. Peter Wagner, ed. (Ventura: Regal, 1991), 85. (George Otis Jr. is the president of Sentinel Group and co-ordinator with Wagner of AD 2000 & Beyond Movement's United Prayer Track. He heads the Spiritual Mapping Division). The second, dealing with the corporate sin of a city or an area, was promoted by John Dawson, who coined the expression "identification repentance," to illustrate the need of repenting and then confessing of these sins as a means of effecting reconciliation, thus breaking Satan's grip. See John Dawson, *Taking Our Cities for God: How to Break Spirit Strongholds* (Lake Mary: Creation House, 1989), 183-89. Wagner remarks that, "no aspect of warfare prayer is more important than identification repentance." Wagner, *Confronting the Powers*, 249-50. The third, engaging in aggressive warfare against the territorial spirits, was heightened by Cindy Jacobs. Cindy Jacobs, *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy: A Training Manual for Militant Intercession* (Grand Rapids: Chosen, 1994), 245-46; Cindy Jacobs, "Dealing with Stronghold,"

warfare" against the spiritual enemies to break free the African continent, which is more vulnerable to these spirits because of idol worship.[35] Thus Maxwell rightly observes that, for the African, the answer to the continental problem of poverty is to be "delivered from the spirit of poverty."[36]

In line with this, it is believed that Africans can be successful if born again Christians take positions of leadership, including active participation in politics. The assumption is that these Spirit-filled Christians will be able "to pray through" and break all the powers of evil crowded over the continent and thereby build a more righteous and God-fearing society. This approach is different from Black Theology whose intent is to use the gospel in the liberation of oppressed blacks in the US.[37] It is also different from liberation theology, which originated in Latin America, in the sense that liberation theology seeks to interpret the Christian faith from the perspective of the poor and the oppressed.[38] The position of the adherents of "territorial spirits" is rather close to what

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in *Breaking Strongholds in Your City*. Cindy Jacobs is the president of Generals of Intercession, based in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

[35] Nwankpa, *Redeeming the Land*, 97-100; Oshun, "Spirits and Healing in a Depressed Economy," 32-52; Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons*, 142.

[36] David Maxwell, "Delivered from the Spirit of Poverty? Pentecostalism, Prosperity and Modernity," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3 (1998): 350-73.

[37] James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore, "Black Theology: Statement by the National Committee of Black Churchmen," in *Black Theology: A Documentary History, Volume 1 1966-1979* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1993), 37. James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation: Twentieth Anniversary Edition*, 1986, Twentieth Anniversary Edition (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1997), 1. For further reading on Black Theology, see James H. Cones, *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York: Seabury Press, 1969); James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore, eds., *Black Theology: A Documentary History, Volume 1 1966-1979*, 1979, Second Edition, Revised (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1993). For its impact on Great Britain see Robert Beckford, *Jesus is Dread: Black Theology and Black Culture in Britain* (London: Darton, 1998); Valentina Alexander, "Breaking Every Fetter: To What Extent Has the Black Led Church in Britain Developed a Theology of Liberation?" University of Warwick, 1997); Roswith Gerloff, *A Plea for British Black Theologies: The Black Church Movement in Britain in Its Transatlantic and Theological Interaction, Volume 1* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992); Iain MacRobert, "Black Pentecostalism: Its Origin, Functions and Theology" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Birmingham, 1989).

[38] Gustavo Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History: Selected Writings* (London: SCM, 1979), 13. For further reading see Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1973);

is known as "dominion theology," which strongly holds that only "those who believe in Judeo-Christian values are qualified to rule."[39] From this perspective, two "born-again" Christians, Elder Kwaku Boateng from CoP and Kwabena Darko from the Assemblies of God unsuccessfully stood for the 1992 Ghanaian presidential election.[40] On the continental level Presidents Chiluba of Zambia (former), Obasango of Nigeria and Kerakou of Benin all claim to be born-again Christians.[41] The influence of the one time US political figure, Pat Robertson, through the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship, is not doubted in this stance.[42] However, this highlights the strong sentiments that adherents of "witchdemonology" hold on the position of the African traditions. For them, the continent of Africa with its idol worship is cursed; it needs deliverance. Although it is believed that Christians can take leadership positions at all levels, this excludes chieftaincy, which of course is the axis of the Akan culture. The rationale behind this is clear; since chieftaincy is the median of all traditional practices, it is considered demonic, the basis for ancestral curses.[43]

Alfred T. Hennelly, *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1990); Arthur McGovern, *Liberation Theology and Its Critics: Toward an Assessment* (MaryKnoll: Orbis Books, 1989).

[39] Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 291. Dominion theology holds that there cannot be peace if unbelievers such as atheists, New Age worshippers and homosexuals are at the top level of government. Therefore based on Genesis 1:27, the guru of this concept, Pat Robertson, encourages Christians and religious Jews to take dominion over all the major institutions and run them until Christ comes again. See Pat Robertson, *New World Order* (Dallas: Word Publishers, 1991), 104, 212, 218, 261-62; Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 289-292.

[40] It must however be pointed out that they did stand independently from their churches. Both of them come from the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship.

[41] Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, Accra, Inauguration of President John Agyekum Kufour, January 7, 2001, Video Recording. On this inauguration day, President Obasango admonished Ghanaians to depend upon God for success.

[42] For example, Elder Kwaku Boateng has a direct relation with Robertson; Elder Kwaku Boateng, Personal Communication, Accra, October 6, 1999; cf. Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 286-93.

[43] For discussions on Christianity and Chieftaincy, see Michelle Gilbert, "The Christian Executioner: Christianity and Chieftaincy as Rivals," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXV, no. 4 (1995): 345-86; Osei Safo-Kantaka, *Can a Christian Become a Chief: An Examination of Ghanaian Ancestral Practices in the Light of the Bible* (Accra: Pentecost Press Limited, 1993). See also Chapter Two, section 1.2 for the role of a chief in Akan society.

2.3.4 Ancestral Curses

The concept of ancestral curse, therefore, is a new "doctrine" which has come along with the "theology" of "witchdemonology." Although this concept has its basis in the traditional belief, as pointed out in Chapter Two, the emphasis there was not placed on curses, but on blessings.[44] Yet, the Pentecostal concept of the ancestral curse is the belief that the consequences of the sins committed by the progenitors recur in their families' lines. The effects of these curses in a person's life include chronic or hereditary diseases, mental breakdowns, emotional excesses, allergies, repeated miscarriages, repeated unnatural deaths, such as in suicides and car accidents, continuing financial insufficiencies, frequent breakdown of marriages or divorces, accident proneness, and abnormal behaviour such as extreme anger tantrums or too much reservedness.[45] Another type of ancestral curse is said to be "spiritual marriage." A person who is involved in this kind of marriage may often have constant dreams of having sexual intercourse with a person or a being. It is believed that some demons called familiar spirits attach themselves to families and effect these curses through the witches in the families.[46] It is clear that here a system which had formerly been a blessing to society has now been termed completely evil by the Pentecostals, the implication of which will be shown later to be often disastrous.

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[44] Those who were venerated as ancestors, the living dead, were those who led prosperous and meaningful lives; these people thought to be closer to *Onyankopong* (the Supreme Being) were to intercede for the living. For people who broke taboos, offended the ancestors or committed specific sins could bring curses upon the state, but sacrifices were offered to appease the responsible gods and thereby retract the curse forever. See Chapter Two, section 2.6.

[45] Onyinah, *Ancestral Curses*, 2. Cf. Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons*, 111.

[46] See Boate, Interview; Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons*, 120-41.

2.3.5 Signs of Demonic Presence or Witchcraft

Besides the signs which give an indication that a person is placed under ancestral curses, it is believed that there are signs which hint that a person is demonised or a witch. Elder Osei who claims to have a particular gift for exorcising witches said that one of the surest signs is that the eyes of such people move up and down as if they found it difficult looking straight at "a spiritual person's" face.[47] One lady who claims to have a gift of detecting witches says that she has special uneasiness whenever there is a witch around. Adwoa who claims deliverance from witchcraft remarks that she still has "special eyes" that can see witches. Generally my informants, following deliverance proponents such as Prince, Larson and Hammond, claim that members of the body of the person sometimes move in an uncontrollable manner.[48] For example, the hands may contract frequently as though the person were under pressure, or the person often could not speak as if the jaws were locked. One may be stamping the feet down as if under stress. Other indications that these proponents put forward include restlessness, hallucination, voices in the head, abnormal talkativeness or reservedness, inability to reason or listen to others, and possessing supernatural strength.[49] It is also believed that a person can discern the presence of a demon and name it through the gift of discerning of spirits. Thus these symptoms which could be a psychological reaction or physical deformity are often considered signs of witchcraft or demonisation, and

[47] Elder Seth Osei, Deliverance Ministry CoP, Sepe Buokrom, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, September 2, 1999.
[48] Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 198-99; Bob Larson, *Larson Book of Spiritual Warfare* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1999), 388-90; Hammond and Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlour*, 27-28; Michael Perry, ed. *Deliverance: Psychic Disturbances and Occult Involvement*, 1987, Second Edition (London: SPCK, 1996), 119-24.
[49] Boate, Interview; Osei, Interview; cf. Perry, *Deliverance*, 119-24.

attract exorcism. Exorcism may worsen the situations here, but for the proponents of this ministry, the more the problem worsens the more the demons are considered strong.

2.3.6 Demonic Doorways

There are many ways through which demons are said to enter people and be passed on to their families or others. The term for this process is demonic "doorway" or "opening."[50] Idolatry of any kind is said to be a major opening.[51] Idolatry includes the worship of the gods (family, clan or any type), traditional slavery called *trokosi* in Ewe,[52] *abisa* (consultation with a deity) and *wo de wonti hyɛ bosom ase* (covenanting with a deity on behalf of the family, clan or people groups).[53] Others are the pouring of libation, receiving the ministration of traditional medicine from an *ɔkɔmfoɔ* (priest) such as through incisions on the face or any part of the body, *dudo* (herbal drink) or through an enema. Participation in a family gathering or a festival where libation is poured and sacrifice offered to the ancestors or the gods is considered another type of idolatry. Idolatry also is thought to include participation in the traditional rites of passage, widowhood rites and traditional burial rites. Having a name that is assigned to *ɔbosom* (a god), such as Bosompra and Bosompim,[54] is also included in this concept of idolatry. By these presuppositions, all the *abosom* (the tutelar and personal gods), the priests, the traditional herbs, festivals, *rites de passage*, chieftaincy and family

[50] Vuha, *The Package*, 53; cf. Hammond and Hammond, *Pigs in the Parlour*, 23; John Richards, *But Deliver Us from Evil: An Introduction to the Demonic Dimension in Pastoral Care* (London: Darton, 1974), 130.
[51] Biblical texts used to explain this include Ex. 20:3-5; 1 Tim 4:1-2; 1 Cor. 10:20-21.
[52] Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Cult-Slavery in West Africa," *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology* 4, no. 1 (1996): 12-23.
[53] This is said to be binding on those on whose behalf such a covenant was made whether they were present or absent.
[54] For background of such names see Chapter Two, section 1.4.

gathering are all portrayed as doors of demons. Thus all the institutions and activities of the traditional cultures are seen as dangerous to healthy living, for they attract demons capable of torturing people.

Another demonic doorway, which deliverance exponents assume, is sinful deeds. Visits to places considered "worldly" such as the disco, concert and pop show are classified as examples of these doorways. It can be a single sinful act or the persistent practice of it (habit) that opens the way for demons. For example, while it is held that a single act of adultery, homosexuality, lesbianism, sexual abuse or premeditated lie can open the door for demons, it is also the repeated acts of masturbation, fornication, pornography, and exaggeration in conversation that open the way for demons. Again, just uttering a thoughtless statement, such as "*wo be kumi me* (you will kill me)," may open a demon entry into a person.[55] Although these are sinful acts which the Bible instructs the Christian to desist from (Gal. 5:19-21), the stress here indicates that everyone who falls into a period of sinful habit ends up demonised. Thus here, as Arnold observes, all habits are taken for signs of demonisation[56] and consideration is not given to the weaknesses of human nature which may cause a person to fall victim to a particular issue (cf. Rom. 7:7-25).

Involvement in any other religion apart from the "one prescribed by the Lord" is supposed to be an opening for demonic entry. Consequently, people who are involved

[55] For example, see Elder Yaw Boahen, Prayer Centre Leader, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Sepe Buokrom, September 2, 1999; Osei, Interview. Often these people use biblical texts, such as Matthew 12:36-37 and James 4: 17, to support their claims.
[56] Arnold, *Spiritual Warfare*, 133.

in Eastern religions, magic, ouija boards, and even astrology are considered to open themselves to demons. Islam is considered a stronghold of Satan, where dialogue is never an alternative, for the best approach is to convert and deliver them from the "spirit of religiosity." This assumption goes further to include non-evangelical faith, such as the Spiritual churches and the Roman Catholic Church. The Spiritual churches are linked because, as discussed in Chapter Two, they are often considered by some people as a composite of traditional religion. The Catholic Church falls victim here because of the Church's recognition of saints and the use of icons such as rosaries in their worship, issues which have not generated a major theological discussion among the Charismatic movement within the Roman Catholic Church in the West.[57] African Theology is also included. Consequently the attempt of the former Moderator of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Ghana, Professor Dzobo, to bring African theological concepts into the Church became a point of conflict which eventually led to secession.[58] The reason African theology is included is that "the central theme of African theological literature has been the nature of African pre-Christian religious life and values and their relationship of continuity rather than discontinuity with Christian' belief."[59] Thus it

[57] Peter Hocken, "Charismatic Renewal in the Roman Catholic Church: Reception and Challenge," in *Pentecost, Mission and Ecumenism: Essays on Intercultural Theology. Festchcrift in Honour of Professor Walter Hollenweger*, A. B. Jongeneel, ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992). But the strong adherence to such beliefs, of exponents of "witchdemonology," is demonstrated in the severance of relation from the Catholic Church by the twin brothers, Steve and Stanley Mensah, to begin an independent evangelistic fellowship. Cf. Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 207-09.

[58] See Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 123-40.

[59] Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992), 431-32. For further reading on African Theology, see also John Appiah-Kubi & Sergio Torres, eds., *African Theology En Route: Papers from the Pan-African Conference of Third World Theologians, December 17-23, 1977, Accra, Ghana* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979); E. Bolaji Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1965); E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1973); John S. Mbiti, *Bible and Theology in African Christianity* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1986); John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (London: SPCK, 1970); Byang H. Kato, *Theological Pitfalls in Africa*

promotes African traditional religion, which is considered demonic. Consequently here, everything outside the Pentecostal/Evangelical circle is seen as satanic.

Another doorway put forward is any type of emotional pressure from childhood experiences. This includes pressures from homes where parents are in conflict with each other, children are rejected, one or both parents are alcoholic, cruel or abusive, especially sexually abusive. Prenatal influences also are said to attract demons. For example, it is believed that demons are likely to enter a baby if either of the parents disliked the baby before birth, or was unfaithful before marriage. The consequence of this is that often both depressed and healthy people may begin to search their memories to find some circumstances that may cause demonic presence in their lives. In a way this exercise may help in bringing out issues which may be the cause of suffering to some people, to be dealt with in practical counselling, but more often they plant the idea of demonisation into participants who may be healthy.[60]

It is also propounded that demons may enter human beings through emotional traumas like the death of a loved one or survival in a car accident, murder, or the explosion of a building; those who watch such incidents on the television are vulnerable to demonic entry. Coming in contact with contaminated objects or gifts such as foods, jewellery, beads or shoes is considered another opening. Linked with this is the belief that the

(Kisumu: Evangelical Publishing House, 1975); Emmanuel K. Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995).

laying on of hands by a witch or a demonic person automatically releases a demon to a person.[61] Thus people who go through traumatic experiences are more vulnerable to demonic presence. Put another way, this is how the deliverance exponents explain the current emotional instability in the world.

It is assumed that all the evil acts discussed here, and others which are not mentioned, have their demonic counterpart. For example, a demon of fornication enters the one who fornicates, while the demon of lust enters the person who watches pornographic videos or pictures. There are corresponding demons to lies, alcoholism, confusion, suicide, hate and anger. While the Bible reveals the seriousness of sins and the need to overcome them in Christ (e.g. Eph. 4:25-32), this theology claims that all evil acts and experiences come from demons and open doors for them. The logical inference is that demons are at work during times of evil behaviour or sickness in the lives of both Christians and non-Christians.

2.3.7 Demon Possession and Christians

The discourse so far indicates that everybody, including Christians, could be witches, demon possessed or inheritors of ancestral curses. However, theoretically there are divergent views regarding the feasibility of a Christian being a witch or demon possessed. While deliverance exponents, such as Elder Boate and Dr Arthur, believe that Christians could be demon-possessed or tormented by ancestral curses, pastors,

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[60] For example, Essel Bobby, Agona Wassa Prayer Camp Assistant, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Agona Wassa, August 25, 1999; Boahen, Interview; cf. Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 115. One of the quotations used here is James 3:16.

[61] Cf. 1 Tim. 5:22.

such as Peter Ayerakwah and Markin, do not think that born-again Christians could be possessed. This variety of opinions is reflective of the church members. In our survey, on the question of the possibilities of Christians becoming witches or demon possessed, out of 945 CoP members, 61.7% said yes, 35% said no, 2.8% said no idea).[62] Those who assume that Christians cannot be possessed by demons propose that Christians can rather be obsessed, oppressed or influenced by demons.[63] The proponents sometimes divide the human being into three, as developed by Watchman Nee,[64] and infer that as the Spirit of God lives in the spirit of the Christian, so He (the Spirit of God) cannot live with demons. But they infer that since the soul is not born again, demons and witchcraft can operate there.[65] Against this view, Elder Boate put some questions before me, "when does one become a Christian?" I answered, "when one accepts Christ into one's life." Then he continued, "does this means that if the person was a witch, such a person will be set free immediately?" I hesitated, thought of it carefully and then said "no, s/he will need a prayer said for her/him." He then reiterated what I said in a different way, "such a person will need deliverance or else one will continue to live in a church with one's witchcraft."[66] By this, he meant that there were witches in the churches. In a similar way, Boate continued that ancestral curses could torment Christians until they were found out and dealt with. In our survey, when asked the question "how can a witch be delivered," in the opinion of 965 respondents, the most

[62] With regard to the 256 non-Church of Pentecost members, 65.4 % said yes, 27.2% said no, 10.4% said no idea. An average is 62.4% yes, 33.7% no and 3.8% no idea.
[63] Jimmy Markin, Pastor of Pentecost International Worship Centre, Kumasi, Personal Communication, Kumasi, July 27, 1999; Ayerakwah, Sefwi Asawinso; Onyinah, *Overcoming Demons*, 19-42.
[64] Watchman Nee, *The Spiritual Man(in Three Volumes)*, 1968, Reprinted one combined Edition (New York: The Christian Fellowship Publishers, Inc., 1977).
[65] For example, see Anto, Interview. Markin, Kumasi.
[66] Boate, Interview.

successful methods for deliverance were accepting Jesus, fasting, commanding the spirit(s) in the name of Jesus Christ, counselling, and intensive and effective prayer.

It is believed that every Ghanaian or African Christian needs to go through deliverance before being set free. In our survey, when asked the question, "considering the Ghanaian background, does every Christian need deliverance?" 55.1% said yes, 41.2% said no, and 3.7% no idea.[67] It is not uncommon for those who answered "no" and "no idea" to seek explanations in ancestral curses when they were faced with problems that seemed to prolong thought and baffle their minds. As described in Chapter Four, before deliverance became popular, most Christians in Ghana had not found the need for believers to be delivered. Therefore, as shown by our survey, if currently over 61% of the Christians think that a Christian can be a witch and over 55% think that every Ghanaian Christian needs deliverance, certainly there is a need for the churches to find groups/institutions which will cater for this majority's need. For the Ghanaian, this was not a problem, since the *aman-abosom* (tutelar gods), *abosom-abrafo* (Anti-witchcraft shrines), Spiritual Christians and early "prophetism" within CoP had already set the pace; the prayer camps and "prayer warriors" became the answers.

[67] The percentage is the same for all the other churches compiled together.

2.4 Prayer Camps/Centres/Groups

2.4.1 Identifying Prayer Centres

Some para-church movements and churches set up prayer groups with different names, such as Deliverance Teams, Prayer Warriors and Prayer Towers, to cater for and address this "urgent" need. The Scripture Union was one of the main agents which helped the other churches to solve the need for deliverance by their members.[68] Other para-church movements which helped to spread this practice were the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International and the Annual All Pastors Seminar which has been cited earlier.[69] Adubofour sees the Prayer Warrior movements as a Pentecostal holiness movement, which seeks to recover and apply the power of the gospel of Christ in terms meaningful to the African.[70] But, notwithstanding all this, the revived prayer camps in CoP were the "safe havens" for the majority of society. A prayer camp is a place where a person goes with a problem to fast and pray with the aim of meeting God in a special way to answer his/her request.[71] The camp is centred around a prophet/healer who becomes a spiritual consultant, just like *abisa*. Prayer camps are grouped into two, residential and non-residential. This is similar to divine healing practices of special healing homes, which developed in the mid-nineteenth century in Europe and America by ministers, such as Edward Irving in U. K. (1830), Johann

[68] Beginning from 1984, they began to organise two separate meetings a year to train people on how to minister deliverance. While their first meeting attracted about fifty people, in 1992 over eighty-four teams made of 1,244 people participated in the seminar at Aburi. See Atiemo, "Deliverance in the Charismatic Churches in Ghana," 39. For a detailed reading on the activities of the Prayer Warrior of the Scripture Union see Paulina Kumah, ed., *Twenty Years of Spiritual Warfare: The Story of the Scripture Union Prayer Warriors' Ministry* (Accra: Scripture Union, 1994).

[69] Often in the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship meetings "deliverance ministers" were invited to speak and perform exorcism for those who need it.

[70] Adubofour, "Evangelical Para-Church Movement," 244-61.

[71] The terms "prayer camp" and "prayer centre" are used interchangeably in the thesis to refer to this type of practice.

Blumhardt in Germany (1843), Dorothea Trudel in Switzerland (1851), Otto Stockmayer in Switzerland (1867), and the following from the USA: Charles Cullis (1880s), Adoniram Gordon (1882), Alexander Dowie (1888-1907) and Charles Parham (1898-1900).[72]

In Ghana, the residential camps, just like the shrines, have residential facilities where people can stay in prayer for a long period. The non-residential types operate on specific days in a week. Just as it started in the 1950s, some lay members started the revived prayer camps. These individuals with strong personalities believed themselves and are believed by others to have "spiritual gifts," to reveal hidden things, predict the future, heal the sick, break ancestral curses, exorcise witches and offer *abisa* (consultations). As they began to pray, they secured a following. Because of the needs that the "witchdemonology" ministry created, the camps proliferated in such a way that before the CoP Executive felt concerned enough to organise a seminar for all camp leaders in January 1990, there were thirty-eight of them. The Executive became so alarmed that, although they recognised the existing ones, an embargo was put on the establishment of future camps, but by the end of 1999 there were fifty-six recognised camps.[73]

[72] For the development of healing movements and approaches to healing in Pentecostalism, see Paul Chappell, "Healing Movements," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Stanley Burgess and Gary B. McGee, eds. (Grand Rapid: Regency Reference Library, 1988), 353-74; D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in The Development of Pentecostal Thought, Sheffield* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 115-86; Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987), 115-41; Morton Kelsey, *Healing Christianity: A Case Study*, 1973, Third Edition (Minneapolis: Augusburg, 1995), 188-92.

Although "deliverance needs" in the mainline churches are met by prayer groups, such as the Presbyterian Bible Study and Prayer Groups, the patronage of their members in the prayer centres in CoP was alarming. Asked in our survey, "have you visited prayer camps?" from the mainline churches, 57.4% of 107 respondents said yes, 37.6% said no and 3% left it blank. This sort of patronage inevitably caused the mainline churches to establish camps, or rather appropriately, to allow prophet/healer lay ministers to operate.[74] The Charismatic churches do not encourage residential prayer camps, perhaps one of the main reasons being that most of them base their ministries on deliverance. This does not mean that their members do not visit the camps. Our survey shows that 59% of the 27 Charismatic respondents said they had visited some prayer centres, while 41% said they had not been there. Thus with the sample interviewed, those who had visited were more than those who had not. Other classical Pentecostals do not promote the prayer camp concept.[75] The Christ Apostolic Church and the Divine Healers Church have one each but the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic Church have none. Yet their members also patronised these camps. 54% of the 39 other Pentecostal respondents in our survey said that they had visited prayer camps, 46% said

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[73] The Church of Pentecost, National Camp Leaders Seminar, Nkawkaw, January 25-26, 1990; The Church of Pentecost, 1999 Headquarters, Regional/Areas, Movements, Committees and Board Reports, Koforidua, March 30- 3 April, 2000.

[74] The Presbyterian Church has camps at Jejemleja near Berekum, led by an illiterate Kwame Ansu Kyeremah, and Grace Prayer Centre at Akropong. The Methodist Church has two camps at Cape Coast, one led by Justice George Ammisah and the other by Mr. & Mrs J. C. Ando, another one in Kumasi led by Mr. & Mrs Ampah. The Hope Ministry at Ohwim, near Kumasi, was started by Francis Akwaboah, who was a purchasing officer of the Ghana Army and a Catechist of the Catholic Church in 1984. As often is the case, due to some misunderstanding between him and the authorities, he broke relations with the Church and started his own camp; Cephas Omenyo, Lecturer, The University of Ghana, Legon, Interview by Author, Accra, July 29, 1999; Rev. John Quarshie, Ph.D. Student, University of Birmingham, Personal Communication, Birmingham, November 6, 2000; Kofi Amankwah, Assistant, Hope Ministry, Ohwim, Personal Communication, Kumasi, July 22, 1999; Kwasi Addo Sampong, "The Growth of Prayer Centres in Ghanaian Christianity: The Quest for Health and Wholeness" (MTh. Diss., Regents Theological College, 2000), 56-58, 90-94.

they had never visited a prayer camp.[76] The analysis so far shows that although the majority of the other churches have come to accept the prayer camps, the scheme is mainly practised by CoP. Prophet Yeboah, former Chairman of CoP, often said that the camps were "gifts" to the Church.[77] Consequently, Prophet Yeboah was favourable towards the prayer camps.

The major prayer centres in CoP include Edumfa in the Central Region, Goka in Brong Ahafo, Okanta in the Eastern Region, Sepe Buokrom in Kumasi, Bethel in Koforidua, Agona Wassa in the Western Region, Salvation in Accra and Anagi in Takoradi.[78] Others which were popular but have severed relations with the Church are Bethel prayer camp which was led by Evangelist Owusu Tabiri, the Macedonia Prayer Camp in Accra led by Philip Newnam, and the Mount Horeb Prayer Camp at Mamfe - Akuapem led by Paa Nii Okai.[79]

The calls to start prayer camps are similar and can be placed under four categories. Firstly are those who began to pray with others and as these meetings developed they turned them into camps. Maame Grace Mensah of Edumfa's camp started in this way.[80]

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[75] As mentioned already in this chapter, members of the Assemblies of God who started prayer centres, Amoako in Kumasi and Kanco in Accra, severed relationship with them.
[76] See Table G for details.
[77] Prophet Yeboah's opinion might have come from a vision which someone gave to him. Anonymous, "Revelation Concerning Ghana, Church of Pentecost and Prayer Camps," Edumfa, May 21, 1980.
[78] With the exception of Okanta, I was able to visit all these places during my fieldwork. I had visited Okanta before.
[79] I have also had rapport with these leaders before.
[80] She was a member of the Methodist Church but when she received the baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues she was disfellowshipped by the Church authorities. Then in 1956, she joined the Church of Pentecost. Knowing she possessed the gifts of prophecy, healing and dreaming, she started praying with her husband and some few members in 1959. As people saw the miracles that were taking place they came there for prayers. Pastor Anane Babae, District Pastor for Abura Dunkwa

Secondly are those who felt sick for some time and felt the Lord was commissioning them to start a camp and thereby started one. This is how Elder Stephen Kesse began his camp at Agona Wassa.[81] Thirdly are those who lost their jobs and began to pray and claimed that God has spoken to them to begin prayer centres. Evangelist Tabiri, the most popular among all the prayer camp leaders because of his call to the office of evangelist by the Executive Council and his international travels, and Paa Nii Okai come under this class.[82] Fourthly, are those who were healed and claimed God had commissioned them to pray for others. Maame Sara Donkor of Goka falls under this category. According to her, she was a cripple but began to walk after Apostle F. D. Walker had prayed for her.[83]

In all of the examples given, there was the belief in the leaders' mind that God was calling them to a special ministry. As they began with charismatic zeal, there appeared to be signs of authenticity, either through prophetic utterance or healing/exorcism,

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(Edumfa), Interview by Author, Edumfa, October 3, 1999; Maame Grace Mensah, Edumfa Prayer Centre Leader, Interview by Author, Edumfa, October 3, 1999.

[81] Elder Stephen Kesse, Agona Wassa Prayer Camp Leader, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Agona Wassa, August 25, 1999.

[82] Evangelist Owusu Tabiri was a retired inspector of Police, the Regional Deacon of CoP in Brong Ahafo Region and a businessman. After an unsuccessful business trip to the US, he felt the Lord spoke to him in a dream to do his work and promised to him that he had given him the call of Elijah. He came back and started the Bethel Prayer Centre at Sunyani. Cf. Sampong, "The Growth of Prayer Centres," 59. Similarly, Paa Nii Okai was a member of the Methodist Church and a rural bank manager. He was imprisoned on the accusation of misappropriation of funds. After he was released he obtained a visa to migrate to the US, but was detained in Lagos. He then went to Okanta to pray and felt God had called him to start a camp. It would seem that he felt it was easier starting one in CoP than the Methodist Church. Cf. Sampong, "The Growth of Prayer Centres," 67.

[83] According to Maame Sarah Donkor, she was a cripple for over eight years. She was admitted at a shrine for five years and only left the camp after the death of the priest in- charge. Soon after she left the shrine, she accepted Christ in 1970. During a convention at Sarkwa in Brong Ahafo Region, she received her healing after the Late Rev. F.D. Walker had prayed for her. In 1972 she felt that God wanted her to pray for an insane woman at her town, Goka. She responded to this perception and prayed. Maadwo, the insane woman, immediately received her healing. On hearing and seeing this miracle, many sick people ran to her for healing. Many of them received their healing, thus the healing centre began. Now the place

which attracted people to follow them. This strong sense of the call of God on people's lives, coupled with the ability to put this into practice has often been a means by which God calls people to service in the Bible.[84]

Established prayer camps such as those at Edumfa and Goka are well built up. For example, at Edumfa, by far the most popular of all the prayer camps, there are well-built chalets, flats and "halls" for clientele, the camp workers, and a two-storey building for the leader. A special two-storey building has been built for VIPs such as government officials and businesspersons that visit. Pastors who visit also have special chalets built for them. However, because of lack of funds, in some camps the places provided for the patients are basic facilities. Those who suffer greatly here are the insane people believed to be witches.

Generally at the prayer camps these insane people are chained by ropes or handcuffs. In the attempts to remove or free themselves from the chains, some of them develop deep cuts and swollen bodies. Often the "confessions" of alleged atrocities that these people carry out in the camps attract less sympathy for them.[85] However, cruelty is not the reason why the camp leaders chain them. For them, unlike the *akɔmfoɔ* (traditional priests) who give herbs to keep the insane quiet, these people are not only chained

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has become a village of its own that accommodates over one thousand people. Sarah Donkor, Interview by Author, Goka, 7 July, 1999.

[84] Cf. biblical prophets like Jeremiah (Jer. 1:4-17), Isaiah (Isa. 6:8-9) and Hosea (Hos. 1:1-3).

[85] Cf. Elder Augustine Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, Sefwi Wiaso, March 11, 1993. He wrote to the Executive Council of CoP to consider the issue of the prayer camps and the atrocities that, for him, go on there. His memorandum will be discussed later in this chapter.

because of the violence they may cause, but they are also forced to fast in their chains with the hope that the fasting will help to exorcise the evil spirit in them.

2.4.2 Clients and their Problems at the Camps

Records are kept of people who visit the centres. In my visits to some of the prayer centres, it was found out that all kinds of people visit them, including political personalities, Christians and non-Christians such as Muslims and traditional religious people. This was confirmed by our survey conducted outside the prayer centres. For example, 53.5% of 256 respondents who were not CoP members said that they had visited CoP prayer camps and 41% said no. 5.5% did not state their position. Within CoP, 70.9% of the 945 respondents said that they had visited the prayer camps. This shows the extent of the impact that the deliverance ministry has had on Ghanaian society. All sorts of problems are presented at the camps. Responses, by 807 people,[86] to the question on reasons for visiting the prayer camps were divided into four broad categories set out below:

The first was sickness (19%). This included all types of diseases such as barrenness, repeated miscarriages, disturbed pregnancies, or general female diseases. Others included severe headaches, stomach-aches, epilepsy, convulsions, asthma, impotency, diabetes, high blood pressure, mental disorders and nightmares. This also included those who believed themselves or were thought by others to be witches.

[86] Out of the 1201people who filled the forms, 347 (28%) did not state the reason why they went to the prayer camps. Thus we were left with 807 (71%) people who responded to the question.

The second category was miscellaneous problems (23.6%). This covered specific problems relating to aspects of life such as unemployment, promotion at work, marital problems, love, desire to marry and business success. Other reasons included release from addiction to drinking, smoking and bad temper. This also referred to clients who wanted protection against witches and sorcerers, who might plot evil against them, so that they would continue to prosper. Again this included clients who wanted to build houses, acquire land, buy cars, acquire travelling visas.[87]

The third was meditation and prayer (18.5%). This is self-explanatory, but perhaps what needs to be mentioned is that some thought that the presence of the prayer centre leader, the "spiritual person" might help them to have a special encounter with God.

The fourth was observation (10%). Some people claimed they wanted to visit the prayer camps to observe how they function.[88]

Although there were a few instances where this classification presented difficulties, on the whole the classification presented here shows that all types of diseases and problems are taken to the camps for miraculous solutions. Thus in a way, the camps have become useful institutions, serving the needs of the afflicted in the communities.

[87] For example, in the 1996 and 1997 annual reports from Edumfa, under healing and miracles, the pastor reports among other requests that were granted: building - 73, acquisition of land - 81, cars -9, approved visa cases – 108; The Church of Pentecost, Abura Dunkwa District, Annual Report for the 1996, Annual Report for the 1997, Edumfa.
[88] See Table H.

2.4.3 The Desire of the Clients

The greatest desire of any client who goes to the camp is to be seen by the leader. Sometimes it takes a few days before a person is able to consult the leader.[89] Initially all clients see the registrar or an assistant. If one's case is thought of as spiritual, or if one expresses a desire to be delivered, an exhaustive questionnaire is given to be completed. This implies that the form is not given to all people who visit. The form seeks information about the person's particulars under the following sub-headings: complaints and duration, past investigations and results, family spiritual background such as possessing or visiting *ɔbosom* (a god), personal spiritual background, such as attending a Spiritual church, strange phenomena, personal characteristics, and a peculiar dream state.[90] The answers to these questions enable the attendants to decide whether or not the problem is spiritual and by that enable them to find the solution. The problem that is identified as spiritual implies that the cause may be assigned to the client's sins, ancestral curses, *bayie* (witches' spells), *aduto* (sorcery), or the client may be a witch. Serious cases are referred to the leader for immediate action. Of course, "high

[89] For example, when I visited one of the camps, the leader said there were so many people waiting to be seen by her that she would not have enough time for me. Thus I needed to meet with her briefly for a chat before the meeting started.

[90] Questions under these headings are numerous. The information requested includes: Mention your parents' previous religious background such as Fetishism, Spiritual Churches, Lodges, Occults (same request is made of the individual). Mention names of family shrine or family stool. Are there any incisions on your body? Have you attended any family festivals? Have you had an enema with any traditional medicine from an *ɔkɔmfoɔ* (traditional priest)? Have you undergone puberty rites? Have you received beads or any jewellery from anybody? Do you easily loose money or property? Have you had sex with any family member or any person you have never seen afterwards? Have you ever involved in masturbation, homosexuality or lesbianism? Do you have suicidal thoughts/tendencies? Do you often hear voices, feel a burning sensation or heaviness? Do animals, snakes or madmen pursue you in dreams? Do you experience sexual intercourse in dreams? Do you fly, eat or discuss with dead relatives in dreams? Are you addicted to sleep, alcohol, sex, music, tobacco or drugs? Do you have an excessive anger, hatred, bitterness, fear of heights, darkness, water/river? Many people use the questionnaire at the back pages of the Nigeria Evangelist Abraham Chigbundu's book, *Loose Him and Let Him Go,* as an example. There are over hundred and two questions in this book. See Abraham O. Chigbundu, *LOOSE Him and Let Him Go* (Benin City: Voice of Freedom Publications, 1991). For his full teaching on

executives" also have immediate access to the leader. The rest may be asked to wait for some time before having the chance to consult the leader.

Unlike some of the deliverance ministries, often within CoP, where most of the prayer camps leaders are illiterate, the leader may diagnose the problem through his/her own way without following the said questionnaires. This is considered very spiritual, and as Elder Boahen told me, the filling of forms to determine what causes an illness is carnal.[91] In the spiritual diagnoses, the leader through intuition or "the leading of the Spirit," as is claimed, gives the background of the illness and through this knowledge, prescribes a number of fasting days to the clients.[92] The length of one's fasting depends upon the extent of one's problem. For example, one of my interviewees was asked to fast for twenty days on a witchcraft issue. After the diagnosis and prescription for fasting, the client is allocated a place to sleep and later consults the leader for the interpretation of any dreams s/he may have. Or, if there is a prayer/deliverance session taking place, the client is referred straight to the meeting.

2.4.4 Deliverance session

Liberation and healing can be received either through a mass deliverance or a personal deliverance session. All clients are expected to attend the mass deliverance session. The cases that are not solved in this session may be taken up by a team of leaders in a

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deliverance, see also Abraham O. Chigbundu, *Believe in Deliverance* (Benin City: Voice of Freedom Publications, 1995).

[91] Boahen, Interview. Elder Boahen was the leader of Sepe Boukrom Prayer Camp. Soon after my interview, he died.

[92] They can also prescribe fasting without giving pre-information of the causation of the disease.

special session referred to here as personal—personal in the sense that special attention will be given to such people.

2.4.4.1 Testimonies

A mass deliverance session begins like a normal Pentecostal service, with opening prayer, praise, corporate expression of worship in singing and praying, and the giving of testimonies. During testimonies, people speak of the successes in their lives, which, for them, are answers to prayers, divine interventions or responses of deliverance.[93] Witches who claim deliverance may speak of the atrocities they supposedly committed, show signs of witchcraft possession and tell of how they were delivered. In some places before a prayer of deliverance is made for witches, they must confess all the evils they have committed and submit their witchcraft substances.[94] People may also share past dreams,[95] especially if they think that interpretations and prayers offered by the leader have helped them escape from impending dangers.

At specific times during the testimonies, the leader intersperses comments and "the display of charisma." For example, during my visit to one of the camp, one pastor's

[93] For example, one of my informants, who wants to remain anonymous, said that her husband was living abroad, she had applied for visa several times without success. After a "deliverance session," the leader requested her to apologise to her father for any wrongdoing she had done. After she did this, the authorities granted the visa the very day she reapplied for it. This turn of fate is considered divine intervention or "the result of the deliverance."

[94] For example, Maame Abora informed me about the case of Maame Agyeiwaah (a woman of over fifty years) who could not get anything to confess. When she was forced to confess, she claimed that the only sin she had committed was eating part of the meat (human flesh) of Jesus. In other words she was not part of the witches who killed Jesus, but was guilty for feasting on his flesh. Akua Abora, Personal Communication, London, January 2, 2000.

[95] Dreams and visions are considered by many Africans as means through which God speaks to His people. See Chapter Two, section 3.2.3.

wife claimed that "spiritually" she had been bitten by a snake at church, but received her deliverance when she visited the camp for prayer. The leader promptly commented on how there were witches in the church causing evil and how one man had come to confess witchcraft to her. She requested the man to come forward for prayer, but he did not. After several repetitions, she concluded that the man was ashamed of coming forward. She then ordered ten "foolish men" to join the man forward for special prayer. To my surprise, over forty "foolish men" came forward. [96] At another of the camps I visited, the leader commented during the time of testimonies that he had just had a "word of knowledge" that witches had bound one of the people. He assured the one involved that he would set that one free in Jesus' name. He then asked anyone who felt or sensed the "spirit of death"[97] to come forward for prayer, he explained that such feeling might be signs that the vision was about them. Six people came forward for prayer. During prayer for these people two of them fell down and struggled for some time before they calmed down. After the prayer, one congregant shared a vision she experienced during the prayer. She saw a man cutting a chain that was hanging around the neck of a goat ready for slaughter. This was interpreted as a confirmation of the leader's vision and the subsequent deliverance. The congregation shouted amens, hallelujahs and clapped their hands simultaneously, expressions which Albrecht describes as Pentecostal rituals.[98]

[96] I requested the man who claimed witchcraft possession to see me after the service. When I interviewed him, he said that he thought that he had a mental problem but not witchcraft and that was why he failed to come forward.

[97] This is a terminology used by deliverance exponents to describe people who feel the urge to die through unnatural means. For example, see Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 216.

[98] Daniel E. Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit: A Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic* Spirituality (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 154-76.

The above narratives show the significant roles that testimonies and prayer centre leaders play. Testimonies are given to encourage others who have similar problems to come forward to be prayed for. Through such testimonies the charismatic nature of the leader is brought into the forefront and this gives the people the hope that their needs will be met if they are prayed for by such a "powerful person" of God. The role of the leader is very important; s/he is the one who generates the interest through his/her comments, practices or revelations. For example, the leader's comment about witchcraft was to arouse interest and to create the awareness that witchcraft is real. No other person can comment and have such a remarkable impact; it must come from a person whom the people trust and believe. The trust in her is demonstrated by the fact that although the person she claimed was a witch did not come forward, she was able to get over forty men to move forward for prayer. In the Akan tradition, it is a taboo for a woman to address a man as a fool, and in fact such a woman may be considered a witch. But by her role as a prophetess, she could break this etiquette and still have a favourable response.[99] Thus a person who would have been considered a witch is rather using her "witchcraft" to deliver others; this may be considered the positive side of witchcraft. The ability to predict was also portrayed in the other leader's session, where his prediction was "confirmed" by a vision that one congregant saw. Such testimonies and the display of charisma by the leaders prepare clients for the major work ahead—deliverance. This is similar to what Erickson describes as "indirect suggestion" in hypnotherapeutic technique.[100]

[99] When I asked the reason why the leader called people foolish, it was explained to me that it is her way of addressing people who have allowed Satan to torment them. That is, it was not considered abusive.

[100] This prepares a person to enter into "one's own 'self' so that unconscious phenomena appear in the foreground due to a temporary dissociation from the realities of the surrounding world." Godin Jean,

2.4.4.2 Preaching and the Bible

After testimonies, the leader or someone else may preach. The preaching is often centred on the power of Christ to deliver people from the power of Satan. The work that the Devil does is featured prominently. For example, when I visited the Salvation Prayer Centre at Mallam Junction, the preacher preached about the healing of Naaman (2 Kgs. 5:1-19). After giving the background, he gave his own hermeneutical interpretation of the passage. His emphasis was based on the point that Naaman was a commander of the army, but had leprosy. He explained that one may be a Christian but one's progress may be blocked by demons, like Naaman, whose progression was blocked by leprosy, such a person needs deliverance. He continued to explain with biblical texts that when there were emotional problems, such as fear, rejection, depression, or when there were mental problems, such as doubts, loss of memory and confusion, there was an indication that demons were there.[101] He cited other problems that are related to the demonic.[102] Further, he said that even some people present might be dreaming of flying and eating, which could be an indication that they were being lured into witchcraft. He continued that one might not have any idea of the cause of the problem. For him, that was an indication that one has come under demonic control through no fault of one's own; the problem might have come from a familiar spirit from one's family due to the worship of the *abosom* (gods). He then used the story of Naaman to make the point that it often needs a gifted man of God like Elisha to discern,

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"Evocation and Indirect Suggestion in the Communication Patterns of Milton H. Erickson," in *Research in Comparison and Medical Applications of Erickson Techniques*, Stephen Lankton, ed. (New York: Brunner, 1988), 6-7.

[101] Some of the texts he used here were Deuteronomy 20:8; Romans. 8:15; 2 Timothy 1:7; Romans. 6:6-7.

[102] The problems included sexual problems such as perversions and sex in dreams, and addictions such as alcohol and cocaine; chronic illnesses such as asthma and high blood pressure, sinful habits such as

break the power of Satan and deliver people from such demonic powers. Since Naaman met a man of God, Elisha, who healed him, the men of God were there to deliver all those who had come there in the name of Jesus. He then called the congregants to make spiritual warfare against Satan and his forces.

The role of preaching and the Bible is interesting in many ways. The preaching exhibits the preachers' concept of "witchdemonology" and shows how local people do their own theology. His concern, as shown through the preaching, is to let his audience know the importance and need of deliverance through the Bible. He does this against the background that the *abosom* and cultural practices are hindrances to their progress and therefore calls for serious spiritual battles against them. The examples given concerning emotional problems, addictions and type of dreams are very relevant to the people. Thus very few of them would think that their lack of successes was not blocked by the powers of evil and therefore did not need deliverance. By this approach, the preacher is not just sanctioning the missionaries' interpretation that the *abosom* are evil, but he is doing his own theology by using the Bible to prove that they are also powerful to harm people, if the connections are not broken. Thus he continues with the missionaries' interpretations which he thinks are biblical and discontinues with the areas which he feels are not. Here Starkloff's thesis that "a theology of the oppressed cannot be written by one not of their number, however supportive and sympathetic the

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profanity, filthy conversation, fighting and anger. Quotations used here included Matthew 5:28; Romans. 1:24-27; Galatians 5:19-21 and 1 Corinthians 6:9-10.

writer may be," comes into play.[103] This type of preaching clearly represents the sermons that take place at the prayer centres. By the end of such sermons people are already petrified, yearning for deliverance.

2.4.4.3 Exorcism[104]

(i) Mass

Following the preaching is the mass deliverance session. Those who have presented their problems to the leaders, as well as others who need deliverance, are asked to move to the front of the congregation to form queues. The congregation sings with much expectancy, accompanied by clapping and musical instruments. The leader may then pray and also give instruction on how to pray. The instructions differ from person to person. Following Evangelist Tabiri's innovation of "breaking," prayer is often said repeatedly with gestures to "break" (*bubu*) "bind" (*kyekyere*), "bomb," trample on them (*tiatia wonso*), "whip with canes," "burn with fire of God,"[105] "strike with the axe of God," "cast out demons" behind diseases and "break" curses. As these things are done with gestures, for example, *bombowon*, *shooto won* (bomb or shoot them) are usually followed by the sound *poo, poo, pee, pee*.[106] Some leaders sell special canes at church for the purpose of spiritually caning the witches. The "blood of Jesus" and "the name of Jesus" are used repeatedly to rebuke sicknesses. Meanwhile the team members move among the people and lay hands on them. As the prayer goes on people begin to

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[103] Carl F. Starkloff, "The New Primal Religious Movement: Towards Enriching Theology as Hermeneutic," in *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W. Turner*, A Andrews F. Walls and Wilbert R. Shenk, eds. (Elkhart: Mission Focus, 1990), 169.

[104] On healing, see Opoku Onyinah, "Matthew Speaks to Ghanaian Healing Situations," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 10, no. 1 (2001): 120-43.

[105] Here *Onyamegya* (God's fire) is called from heaven to burn the witch.

sob, groan, shout, roar, fall down and struggle on the ground. The leaders pay special attention to those who show such signs without falling down, by commanding and sometimes pushing them. Unlike the Charismatics, especially the Catholic Charismatics, who, according to Csordas, consider falling down as resting in the Spirit,[107] or the Toronto Airport Christian Fellowship, which considers similar phenomena, such as roaring, barking and laughing, as spiritual blessing, hence "Toronto Blessing,"[108] here these phenomena are interpreted as manifestations of demons. Therefore, when someone struggles or falls down, some of the team members continue to cast, bind or break the power of evil on them. When there is resistance, the leader engages in dialogue with the person, asking the name of the demon. For example, as Elder Kojo Asante informed me, during one such dialogue, when the leader asked Adwoah what was wrong with her, she said that she was a witch. Asked what she had done, she said she had killed all the people who had died at the Komfo Anokye hospital in Kumasi.[109] According to him, the leader explained that their ancestors passed on the spirit to her. This was said to be the reason why she claimed responsibility for all the deaths at the hospital.[110]

Sometimes people begin to speak in forms to show that some spirits have taken over. Such people become points of attraction and the leaders engage in active dialogue with

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[106] For example, see Alfred Owusu, "The Genesis of Bethel Prayer Camp," *Bethel News* 7 (n.d.): 3-5; Tabiri, "What I Mean by Breaking," 5-7, 22, 25.
[107] Thomas Csordas, *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing* (London: University of California Press, 1994), 272.
[108] Siegfried S. Schatzmann, "Toward a Biblical Understanding of Phenomena in Revival," *EPTA Bulletin* XVI (1996): 36; Richter, "The Toronto Blessing: Charismatic Evangelical Global Warning," in *Charismatic Christianity*, Stephen Hunt, Malcolm Hamilton and Tony Walter, eds. (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), 101-02.
[109] This is biggest hospital in the Ashanti Region.

them. Although I witnessed some of these and also watched videos of them, many of them did not want me to use such materials. However, one of them, whom I shall call Agnes, agreed that I could use her case, which I witnessed.[111] During the deliverance session a male voice spoke through her and said, "I am your father. I have attempted to give you witchcraft, because I love you and want to pass on my inheritance to you, but because you have committed yourself to the Lord, I could not do it.'" Some leaders then commanded the spirit to come out, although the spirit resisted them, it finally came out. Agnes said, "I am now free."[112]

As the process of deliverance goes on, people may cough, vomit or urinate. Through the teaching of deliverance proponents like Prince it has come to be accepted that demons may go out through any one of the orifices in the human body.[113] Thus these are considered signs of deliverance.

The process may take two to three hours, until the rumpus cools down. But this is not the end of the session. In most of the places I visited, the leaders called those with specific needs and prayed for the groups in turns. For example, prayer was said for

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[110] Elder Kojo Asante, Personal Communication, Kumasi, September 9, 1999.
[111] She however wanted to remain anonymous.
[112] Later I questioned Agnes about what happened to her. She said that her father loved her very much, so when he died it was a blow to her. But she felt that the father wanted to give her witchcraft. The reason was that she frequently dreamt of being in the company of her father. For example, in one of her dreams, a very huge personality chased her up and wanted to give her something. But she struck the person with the axe of God and indeed she saw an axe cutting the person into pieces, then she called "fire from heaven" to burn that person and the fire did burn him. She said that it became clear to her during the prayer meeting through the manifestation which came through her that the father was attempting to give her witchcraft. I called upon Agnes again two weeks after the incident and she said that the dreams had stopped, although she felt she still needed constant prayer. Agnes, Interview by Author, Nkawkaw, August 31, 1999.
[113] Prince, *They Shall Expel*, 233. See also Perry, *Deliverance*, 102. Cf. Boahen, Interview; Bobby, Interview.

traders to receive capital for good business, for farmers to have good harvests, for government workers to receive promotion and higher salaries, for broken marriages to be restored, for weak marriages to be strengthened, for single people (especially women) to get married, for those in debt to obtain money. Sometimes, when prayer for money is being made, people are requested to open their hands, stretch their clothes, or take up their coats as receptacles to receive money.

After this, the leader often requests testimonies of deliverance and healing from the members. However, since it is claimed that a person needs constant deliverance, s/he may instruct them on how to do "self-deliverance."

(ii) Personal approach and "Self-deliverance"

The procedure of self-deliverance is similar to the way deliverance is ministered to those whose problems are not solved after the mass deliverance. Those whose problems are not solved almost always go through the said intensive interview by the leader before a prayer of deliverance. With the self-deliverance, the person will have to be his/her own exorcist. The prayer of deliverance differs from person to person. However, for deliverance to be accomplished, the leaders often demand either the acceptance of Christ or personal affirmation of one's faith in Christ; confession of any known sin; repentance of all sins, forgiveness of other people's sin; breaking with satanic contact; and finally a commanding prayer.[114]

[114] It goes like this: Lord Jesus Christ, I believe you are the Son of God and the only way to God. You died and rose again so that I might receive eternal life. I confess all the sins I have done. (Specific sins are mentioned here). I repent of all my sins and ask for your forgiveness. By a decision of my will I forgive all who have offended me. (Specific names can be mentioned here). I put aside all bitterness and

The deliverance session clearly is a mixture of a wide range of practices, including traditional (discussed in Chapter Two), Spiritual churches (discussed in Chapter Three) and biblical practices. Like the Spiritual churches, the camps demand confessions of sins, submission of witchcraft objects, and drumming and dancing follow that of the traditional shrines. The fasting, prayer and command is the re-interpretation of some scripture verses, especially those concerning Jesus' dealing with the demoniacs.[115] Similar to the Spiritual churches, the indirect use of psychology is strong here. This is implied in the confession of witches and the repetition of songs that build up pressure on the people before deliverance is carried out. In addition to this, the techniques of hypnotherapy[116] are applied indirectly, as pictured through the teaching about demons and deliverance. Here the Pentecostals take it further than the Spiritual churches by the use of questionnaires and interviews, which makes the approach similar to that of professional psychoanalysts who allow the patients to talk freely about personal experience, in order to extract information from them. Again, like the Spiritual churches, magical methodology is apparent in the repetition of the "prayer languages" during exorcism.

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hatred. I renounce all contacts I have made with the devil and false religions. (Specific issues can be mentioned here). I take my stand with you against all demons, witches and satanic powers.
In the name of Jesus I break any curses placed against me.
I command you spirit…to go away from me. (Must be specific here). I command you to come out. Amen. For example, see Osei, Interview; Adu-Boahen, *Deliverance from Demons*, 196-99; Vuha, *The Package*, 98-116; Vuha, *Covenants and Curses*, 77-81;Onyinah, *Overcoming Demons*, 110.

[115] E.g. Mt. 17:21 (AV.); Mk 5:1-20.

[116] Hypnotherapy is a "term used rather loosely to denote several different therapeutic applications." Therapeutic is "the branch of medicine, which is concerned with the theory of treatment" or which is concerned with direct suggestions oriented toward specific treatments. H. J. Eysenck, W. Arnold, and R. Meili, eds. *Encyclopedia of Psychology Volumes 1 - A-K*, 1972 (Bungay: Fontana/Collins in Association

Notwithstanding this, generally exorcism within CoP differs from those at both the shrines, where physical effigies represent the gods which are consulted, and at the Spiritual churches where water, crosses and crucifixes are used. These accoutrements are absent. Nevertheless, the desire for these images is seen in the concretisation of exorcistic languages such as "bombing" with the sound *poopoo*. Schomburg-Scheff's observation about the power of images is relevant here. Besides his recognition that specific images are stronger in certain cultures than others, he also feels that some "conceptions and actions…seem to transcend historical, geographical, social, and cultural boundaries."[117] That is, for him, no matter how some people try to convince others that images are misconceptions, they will continue to have a strong impact on religion.[118] The impact that this concretisation has on the psyche of the people is significant. Agnes, for example, in her dream, used "the axe of God" and called "the fire of God" from heaven to destroy an enemy who had wanted to kill her, and her "personality-spirit" was strengthened.

It is still apparent that *abisa* (the act of consultation) plays the central role in these exorcistic phenomena. People often visit these camps to find out the supernatural causations of their problems and afflictions, to find out their futures and to seek protection. Interpretation of dreams and visions is very central to the fame or

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with Search Press, 1975), 487; Charles Rycroft, *A Critical Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, 1968, Second Edition (London: Penguin, 1995), 183.

[117] Sylvia M. Schomburg-Scherff, "The Power of Images: New Approaches to the Anthropological Study of Images," *Anthropos* 95 (2000): 195. For the role that images play in Religion and Media in Ghana see Birgit Meyer, "Money, Power and Morality in Popular Ghanaian Cinema," *Paper Presented to the Consultation, Religion and Media* Accra, May 21-27, 2000.

[118] See Kelleher who explores some of the biological, social, cultural and spiritual dimensions of a liturgical body in action. Margaret Mary Kelleher, "The Liturgical Body: Symbol and Ritual," in *Bodies*

recognition of the leader/prophet. The prophet's ability to diagnose and prescribe the type of fasting usually influences the effectiveness of the exorcism. Without good *abisa* (divination) a camp will not flourish.

2.4.4.4 Testimonies from the Centres

Society's views about the prayer centres are not only pictured in the way people patronise the centres as shown in our survey, but also in the way most adherents, including highly educated people, testify about their "experiences"— healing, deliverance or otherwise at the camps. The following are cited here to substantiate this claim.

(i) The Case of Ferka: The Importance of Prayer Centres

Ferkah is a Ph.D. student in Theatre Studies at the University of Oslo. He has visited prayer camps several times. His testimony shows how people patronise, "benefit" and rate the camps within CoP and other expressions of Ghanaian society.[119]

Ferkah's concept of witchcraft functions within the framework of the Akan family. He dreamt of being given meat by a family member; this was interpreted to him as attempts by his family members to give him witchcraft and by that to arrest and kill him. Thus here the root of witchcraft attack is envy within the social structure, which some anthropologists have proposed as a major interpretation of witchcraft accusation.[120] He

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of Worship: Exploration in Theory and Practice, Bruce T. Morrill, ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 51-66.

[119] See Appendix 2 A for his story.

[120] See Chapter Two, section 4.2.2.

is being sought after to be killed because of his privilege to study and his prosperity in this modern world. Further witchcraft is linked with dreams. Here both Ferkah and the prayer camp leader relied on a dream as an opening to perceive spiritual activities, which, for them, could have manifested in a fatal incident. This is further confirmed by a messenger from his hometown that he should not come home until he had been prayed for, else he would die. The messenger's word is also taken as a sign of the authenticity of the interpretation of the dream, and in that respect brings the role and the diagnosis of the prayer camp leader into prominence. Although Ferkah knew the dream had meaning, he did not understand it, as it was the leader who interpreted it for him. The message from the village, asking him to be prayed for by the prayer camp leader, shows the standing that the prophetess carries in the area; it was the prayer of the prophetess which would save him from death.

In this report, we also see the role prayer language plays; Ferkah was protected by the "fire of God" through the prayer made for him. Further, as he promised to build a house for the family, the witches attacked him. Here the type of witchcraft in the family will be termed as *bayikwasea* (evil witchcraft). Thus, in order for him to prosper or be successful in life he has to break links with the family. This is not the only issue which caused him to cut these links, because in another incident he had to stop giving financial support to his sick sister. Thus, through fear (unknowingly) "individualisation" is promoted against the extended family system in order to succeed in life. Yet Ferkah appears to have a different problem: he once hallucinated about a snake crawling around a female figure, thereafter, he began seeing snakes all around him. Since Ferkah

has been informed that the type of witchcraft in the family is a python, he understood this as a witchcraft attack, yet it may be an indication that he has a neurotic problem. In my conversation with him, it emerged that he sometimes received medical attention, yet he believes that it was the prayers that saved or protected him.

Particularly striking is the frequency of the problems (security, protecting or *abisa* ("divinatory-consultation") which sent Ferkah to the camps. This gives an indication that the prayer camps have replaced the services that the shrines formerly provided for the people.[121]

Ferkah's concluding observation that it is not practicable for a minister who has been to a Bible College to understand the spirit world is very alarming for several reasons. Firstly, it would be expected that with his academic achievement he would have thought otherwise. The assumption here is that if an educated person, such as Ferkah, takes this viewpoint what would be the stand of the "unschooled"? Secondly, the statement is not only a reflection of the ongoing tension between some people and the prayer camp adherents, but it also shows the difficulty involved in the attempt to teach the camp leaders, since, for them, "spiritual issues" are incompatible with theological knowledge. Thus here Ferkah separates theology from spiritual experience and would prefer the camps to go on through their "personal revelations."

[121] One of the elders in the Church, who wants to be anonymous, explained to me, how through the prayer camps his business was made very successful.

(ii) The Case of Abena S.: Witchcraft Possession

Miss Abena S., a 33-year-old woman, claimed she was a witch. According to her, at the age of ten, her mother's friend invited her to her village for some food. Although she did not realise it then, she felt (several years later) that a meal her mother's friend served her was "infested" with witchcraft. A few months after eating that food, she started feeling feverish. Then she started dreaming about playing with several children, and, on several occasions, eating in her dreams. She could not tell her mother, since she did not at that time consider that she was experiencing being a witch. When questioned on how she became aware that she was a witch, she said that the truth was revealed to her when she went to the Agona Wassa Prayer Camp for prayers (nineteen years after she had eaten the food).[122]

Just like Ferkah, Abena's story falls within Akan interpretation of witchcraft being linked with a dream and envy within the social structure. Again similar to Ferkah, issues, especially her witchcraft possession, were confirmed to her at the camp. But Abena's story adds something here. Abena could not complete the elementary schooling and her life had been a failure. This had made her bitter. This bitterness was expressed in the way she thought of the mother's job, the sister's marriage and the uncle's life. Even when she felt sick and was sent to the prayer camp, she claimed that she had intended to destroy the camp's leader and the people around. From an Akan's perspective therefore, Abena is an example of a witch, for she claims that, out of jealousy, she could concentrate on something, like the sister's marriage issue, and cause

her to reject the proposal. What anthropologists, sociologists or psychologists may call bitterness or envy, because of her childhood experience, the Akan perceive as witchcraft.[123] For her, she had been able to project the mind outside to get the expected result and this, she thought, came from a supernatural power.[124] Therefore, exorcism might be a useful method for her. She claims that, by her actions in the exorcistic ritual, she was able to know *nahomoa* (her witch-spirit animals), snakes and crocodiles, and these were cast out. Here the psychodynamic of her life was acted upon in a pattern provided by the Akan culture which had been adopted by the camps—a need which medication alone had not been able to provide. Thus she needed to face her bitterness as real and overcome it, something which the exorcism provided for her. Though she claims she was healed, she lives a life of fasting from 6.00 AM to 6.00 PM. This shows some of the limitations of this ministry as it now stands.

Abena was not alone in this dilemma. In my fieldwork, I interviewed several people who claimed deliverance from different "spirit-related problems." An example of this is a lady, I shall call Akua, whose marriage had broken down. She claimed that she was delivered from witchcraft which often caused her to steal and fornicate.[125] Another example is the story of Bobby. He claimed to be a witch, a sorcerer, a lodge society member, practised astral projection, and had sex with a woman who later he realised was the sea goddess, Maami Wata. He became married to this woman spiritually. He

[122] See Appendix 2 B for full story.
[123] See Chapter Two, section 4.2.2.
[124] See Chapter Two, section 4.2.4.2.
[125]See Appendix 2 C.

claims deliverance, and is now a member of the leadership team at Agona Wassa Prayer camp.[126]

Comparing the interpretation given to Ferkah concerning the eating of meat with that of Abena shows the discrimination that goes on in witchcraft accusation. For example, in the dream, Ferkah ate the meat and saw himself flying, which could have been interpreted as signs of witchcraft possession, but his prestige and status forbade such an interpretation; here it was only an attempt to make him a witch in order to arrest and kill him. But when Abena reported eating in a dream without flying, it was interpreted as witchcraft possession; she had no particular standing in society. Thus in a way, witchcraft accusation is a tool of oppression against the poor and especially against women, even among proponents of deliverance in Akan societies. This was often reflected in the interviews which I conducted. For example, three maids (poor girls living with people in the cities) were accused of witchcraft. They were often blamed for the misfortunes which befell their masters. In one case, when one maid was asked to go and bring her *bayikukuo* (witchcraft object) before deliverance was made for her, she went and physically cut off someone's hand and presented it. The case ended in court.[127]

(iii) The Case of Monica: Spirit Possession

Monica is married with two children. She comes from Dorma Ahenkro in Brong Ahafo, but lived most of her life at Sefwi in the Western Region of Ghana. Currently

[126] See Appendix 2 D.
[127] I personally interviewed the person whose maid got involved in this case on 15 August 1999.

she lives in London, England, with her family. Her story, which began when she was a teenager, shows how the camps deal with an unwanted spirit possession.[128]

Monica's case is important for the diverse ways in which various cultures will handle abnormality. From a western perspective, Monica's case can be termed as hysteria. This is clearly pictured in the symptoms such as hallucinations, abnormal behaviour, personality disorder and temporary lameness and dumbness.[129] While Westerners subject such a person to psychotherapy, the Akan tradition has a different approach. If Monica's condition had been diagnosed as an evil deity when she was sent to the traditional priest, the priest could have "pacified the gods" as a form of exorcism, and then somehow set her free.[130] Since the traditional priest diagnosed the deity to be good, Monica's fate was to be trained to function as a traditional priestess, even though she did not want to. But here through exorcisms and living at camps, she was partially set free. Nevertheless, her story gives some useful insight into spirit-possession. Once she was at the camp, the dwarfs promised not to come, although they were able to come there to inform her. Thus, she needed to spend a long period at the camps, four months at Goka, and over a year at Bethel, Sunyani, where she became a staff member. It can be assumed here that the activities there kept her normal.

Contrary to the normal Akan people's reservedness that I encountered in my fieldwork, Monica had a very open personality. But her openness poses a major problem not only

[128] See Appendix 2 E.
[129] Sigmund G. Freud, *The Essential of Psychoanalysis*, trans. James Strachey (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 307-08; Frank Lake, *Clinical Theology: A Theological and Psychiatric Basis to Clinical Pastoral Care*, 1966 (London: Darton, 1986), 87-93.

for proponents of "witchdemonology" but also for Pentecostals in general. While deliverance is aimed at casting out evil powers in order that people can live a victorious Christian life, such as shunning fornication, for Monica once she stopped "being with a man" or living with a man outside marriage, the dwarfs came back. Accordingly, the problem stopped when she got married. This seems to confirm Freud's assertion that "the characteristic of hysteria shows a degree of sexual repression in excess of the normal quantity, an intensification of resistance against the sexual instinct."[131] In Monica's case marriage solved her problem. This suggests that Christian exorcism cannot be divorced from the medical and social sciences. Her experience is a clear example that understanding contemporary deliverance needs the assistance of other disciplines.

(iv) The Case of Akosua L.: When Exorcism Does not Work

In one of the centres I visited, I requested to interview witches, or witches who had been delivered. One of those brought to me was a young woman whom I shall call Akosua. Having been brought up in a religious home, she was later jilted in a boy-girl relationship and had been defiled while a young girl. Unfortunately, the young man who had been in a relationship with her to the point where marriage was in the offing apparently broke her heart. He had met another girl. To make matters worse, she claimed a friend of her former boy friend once raped her. By that time she did not have a boyfriend.

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[130] See Chapter Two, section 3.5.1.
[131] Freud, *The Essential of Psychoanalysis*, 306.

During this period, she began having dreams of certain indescribable beings having sexual relations with her. It did not matter whether she was awake, having a nap, just dozing off in church or walking on the streets. These images appeared to have sex with her. According to her, it had a physical effect on her. That is, she could enjoy the orgasmic feelings that coitus would give to any woman who physically had an affair with a man. She even felt she could die any moment. She had been exorcised, prayed and fasted for over several days and weeks, at different prayer camps, all to no avail. She did not know whether or not she was a witch or even a normal human being.[132]

Akosua felt very insecure as she was telling us her story.[133] She looked very confused and unsure of her life and future. But her problem is one of the commonest problems facing the young women in Pentecostal/Charismatic circles.[134] Being trained in a Christian home, having a perfectionist attitude toward life, but having a passionate nature, Akosua always had a conflict, apparently irreconcilable, between sexuality and Christian ethics. The greatest picture that comes out of Akosua's images is that of "a weak woman" being sexually dominated, deceived and forced by a male's strength to do this palpably dreadful feat, made to perform marvellously forbidden acts repeatedly and then is forsaken. Although she felt it was not right, she had been introduced to it and then rejected. As a woman in an Akan society, she could not force herself on anybody, all she could do was to suppress it. From the Freudian perspective, this may

[132] Akosua, L. Witch, Interview by Author, Takoradi, August 20, 1999.
[133] I was together with my assistant who was an elder of the Church of the Church of Pentecost.
[134] These young women often come to mass deliverance service prepared to fall down and struggle. For this, they put on shorts so that they do not expose themselves when they fall down.

be termed as "obsessional neurosis."[135] The images that she sees clearly illustrate the passion of sex that almost consumes her. The indescribable figures always ready to satisfy her, perhaps hint at her wish for power and authority, where everything that has to do with yes or no is completely her choice.

As long as Akosua feels rejected, feels her consuming desire is socially unacceptable, and fears divine punishment, her deliverance is far off. In fact in her situation the fasting, praying, demand for righteous thinking, accusation of witchcraft and several exorcisms which were unsuccessful have worsened her condition. From what happened, it appeared that there was no power in the gospel, but it is apparent that the wrong solution had been administered. What Akosua may need is "real" pastoral counselling, which the prayer camps lack. She needs a caring person or group of people who would meet with her on a regular basis to help her deal with her rejection, and to understand and appropriate the Scripture, and hold her accountable for dealing with the problem of lust in the physical realm instead of dealing with it on a demonic level.

(v) The Case of Afia: The Controlling Sub-Personality

This story shows an example of the case where the client by means of role-playing identifies a controlling sub-personality, and then speaks to reveal the nature of the problem.

[135] Sigmund G. Freud, *The Origins of Religion: Totem and Taboo, Moses and Monotheism and Other Works*, 1985, trans. James Strachey, Albert Dickson, ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 39-40.

Maame Amma Owusua has ten children. Her eldest son, Kwadwo, left for Germany and left his wife, Afia, with the in-laws. As is often the case with Akan people, the wife runs the home; thus Maame Owusua was to take care of her. According to Maame Owusua, she treated her as her own daughter, but she realised that Afia was not co-operative, she was lazy and often tried to avoid taking part in the household chores. But as a Christian, as she reiterated, she did not want to harbour any misgivings against Afia and often had to confront her when she showed signs of moodiness.

Unfortunately, Kwadwo was repatriated from Germany after only seven months stay, on the grounds of false documentation. On his return, he bought a car for C200,000.00 (about £40 at the time). Unfortunately the car broke down within two weeks. Together with his wife, they went to one of the camps to pray, with the purpose of finding out the causes of his problems. His main problems may be expressed in the following questions: firstly, why should some people succeed in living abroad without correct documents, while he was repatriated? Secondly, why should his car break down just after two weeks of running? During the deliverance session, his wife began to shake and appeared as if she were possessed with a different spirit. Then she began to speak with an authoritative feminine voice which was not natural to her. The voice claimed that she was Maame Owusua. Her purpose was that they should allow her to destroy her son. For she was the one who caused the repatriation of her son in Germany and also caused the engine of her son's car to break down. The spirit was identified by the leader as that of Ahab and Jezebel—that is, destructive and controlling and, thereby, attracted an aggressive approach by the leaders. The "axe of God," "fire of God" and

"bombs" were piled on her. Then later the voice claimed she was leaving because she could not stand against the power at the camp. Apparently Afia was silenced. After this, Kwadwo came home and sharpened his cutlass ready to kill his mother. It was only through "divine intervention" that someone came to the house at the right time to save the mother who had not returned from the market.[136]

Examination of this story reveals most of the bases for the accusation of witchcraft. First Kwadwo and Afia went to the camp to find out the cause of their problem. Thus basically the misfortune theory applies here.[137] The story has shown that in the house social interaction was intense and much was expected from Afia, the daughter in-law. Yet the mother-in-law sees the involvement of Afia in household chores as a sign that she considered her a true daughter. But, for Afia, as the story hints, this was an intrusion into her independence and freedom. Yet she could not express her feelings verbally to the mother-in-law, since that might be considered an act of insubordination, instead she expressed it in moodiness. The mother-in-law saw this attitude of Afia unpleasant and often confronted her. With this atmosphere in the house, as the social-structure theory also implies, there was bound to be witchcraft suspicion.[138] Surely, Afia's expectation and real concern might be for the husband to acquire enough money for them to leave the extended family's home to establish themselves elsewhere. Unfortunately the two major attempts the husband had made failed. Afia's personification of the mother-in-law must be understood from this backdrop. As Lake

[136] Amma Owusua, Personal Communication, Kumasi, September 8, 1999.
[137] See Chapter Two, section 4.2.1.
[138] See Chapter Two, section 4.2.2.

analyses it, dissociative reactions express "fears and wishes we dare not associate in waking life."[139]

Clearly Afia's "possession" is a defensive reaction against the external controls imposed by the mother-in-law. Again, it exhibits the need for freedom and privacy that Afia lacks in the house, in order for them to settle down as a couple. Nevertheless, coming from the Akan background, Kwadwo and Afia wanted to find out the causation of their problems from the supernatural realm. The false documentation, the poor condition of the car and the crowded atmosphere in the house, though significant issues, were not considered. Since their attempts for living an abundant life or to embrace modernity had failed there was no other alternative but to blame it on the mother-in-law who dominates the affairs in the house. For Kwadwo, once the witch Maame Owusua was dead everything would be successful. Although Afia might receive her deliverance through exorcism, the exercise had created a bigger problem; permanent division in the family, which almost resulted in death.

2.4.5 Controversy

Consequently, some of the weaknesses which were observed within the deliverance ministry raised widespread alarm among some members and pastors of CoP, pastors of other churches and other citizens of Ghana.[140] The issue of deliverance and the prayer camps became a major source of tension within CoP.[141] The source of tension was that

[139] Lake, *Clinical Theology*, 184.
[140] These people include those who had not visited the camps, others who visited for observation, and still others who went to pray and came back disillusioned.
[141] Cf. Gifford, *African Christianity*, 105-08.

while some were majoring on deliverance, others began to re-emphasise the classical Pentecostal stance that the primary issue was the baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues, and deliverance was included. But, for the proponents of deliverance, practical situations in the local churches were different, people manifested demonic activities, and those "delivered" received real freedom.[142] While murmuring was going on among some of the members and the pastorate, others began to write anonymous letters to the Executive Council requesting their views on the issue. In all this, the Executive was silent, since it had decided not to entertain anonymous letters. In the midst of this, an elder of the Church, with a strong personality, Dorman-Kantiampong, wrote a letter to the Executive bringing to light the malpractices and the problems that, for him, the deliverance ministry was posing to the people.[143] His views represented the majority of the people who were discontented with this ministry; moreover, since it was his memorandum which caused the Executive to act on the issue, it needs to be summarised here. It will be done in conjunction with others who had critiqued the camps and the deliverance ministry.

The first issue he raised was that the prayer camps deserve a critical hearing based on Scriptures as some claimed that many people received deliverance from there and that "it was an asset to the Church."[144] Referring to the ministries of Jesus, Peter, Philip, Paul and his team members, he concluded that "there was nothing like the Prayer Camp unless we say we are under a different dispensation…."[145] His next point, was that "the

[142] Emmanuel Boate, Emmanuel Boate@gh.standardchartered.com, Accra, March 28, 2001.
[143] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps.
[144] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 1.
[145] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps2.

Church is allowing the "Pentecost Garden" which is synonymous to 'Nakaba /Awoyo Garden' [Twelve Apostles Church] which we were preaching against initially."[146]

He then raised the malpractices that, for him, were going on in the camps. The first was the abuse of fasting, often called "dry fasting,"[147] and prescription of the "fasting dosages … according to the gravity of the person's needs."[148] Among others I interviewed who expressed their dissatisfaction about this issue were Nana Offer Nkansa and Dr. Fred Sackey.[149] Sackey was very much disturbed, since, according to him, "dry fasting" would let the clients have more hallucinations, which would also be considered symptoms of witchcraft. The second malpractice, which Dorman-Kantiampong raised, was the binding of madmen and people believed to be witches. He was greatly perturbed about the unfortunate situation of such people. He writes, "these victims would be crying and pleading for release but the so-called disciples of these prophets of 'Prayer Camps' would not listen. What have they done that they should be punished by their 'prophets' this way."[150] Pastors Samuel Gyamfi and Waye-Onyinah thought that these are the worst features of the camp.[151] The third malpractice was the attribution of afflictions to witches. For him, Jesus and the disciples did not practice this, but these prophets create problems by mentioning alleged witches who were

[146] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 3.
[147] Dry fasting means fasting without drinking water. It is thought to be the most powerful weapon of prayer.
[148] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 4.
[149] Nana Offei Nkansah, Former Akuafo Hene (Chief Farmer) of Ghana, Interview by Author, Akropong, September 11, 1999; Dr. Fred Sackey, Medical Practitioner, Interview by Author, Adanta -Accra, September 17, 1999.
[150] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 5.
[151] Pastor Stephen Waye Onyinah, Christian Mission Church, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September 18, 1999; Pastor Samuel Gyamfi, Christian Mission Church, Bawku, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Accra, September 18, 1999.

thought to be sources of people's affliction.[152] Pastor Amaniampong also expressed concern about the division which such allegations bring to the family and wished that this side of the camps would completely be stopped.[153] The fourth malpractice was the use of aids such as "*Nyame Ahyira so* (use of [traditional] medicine), called God has blessed it."[154] He thought this was not biblical.

The next things he touched on after the malpractices were the problems the prayer camps pose to the Church. He felt that the behaviour of some of the prophets toward the Church and its leaders were, for him, signs of insubordination. They would not attend church conventions and if they came they expected to be treated differently from other officers. Again, he realised that the prayer camps were distracting people's attention from Christ as was evidenced by "people carrying their luggage from prayer camp to prayer camp."[155] Further, for him, the proliferation of the prayer camps centred on the autonomy they had from the local churches: they extract money from the members and use it for their own benefit.[156]

He then ended with an appeal to the Executive to act, "I end here hoping and praying that something is done on this issue."[157]

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[152] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 5. Cf. Rev. F. Ofori-Yeboah, Reginal Head, CoP, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Bolgatanga, August 17, 1999.
[153] Rev. James Osei Amaniampong, Missionary of CoP in Gambia, Personal Communication, Birmingham, November 2, 2000.
[154] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 6. Cf. The Church of Pentecost, National Camp Leaders Seminar.
[155] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 6.
[156] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 7.
[157] Dorman-Kantiampong, Prayer Camps, 7.

The Executive quickly acted on his memorandum by setting up a committee to review the activities of the prayer camps.[158] But why should the Executive Council wait until such confusion had been created before acting only after one person had sent a memorandum? The answer is not difficult to find. McKeown's pronouncement in 1962 throws light on it; he observes that some elders and pastors whose inner perception made them speak in attempts to correct some of the practices of the prayer camps "had venom spued [spewed] on them from this cesspool."[159] This is to say that those who critique camps or healing and deliverance, in some ways to correct them, attract strong hatred from the adherents. Thus the Executive Council preferred to relax on the issue rather than confront and attract the populace's dissatisfaction. They were waiting for someone to formally raise the issue; an attitude which also shows that the church had no policy or theology regarding healing and deliverance.

The committee, set up in April 1993, submitted its report in June 1995.[160] Unlike a similar committee formed in Nigeria to look into similar situations in the Catholic Church, which, Ugwu contends, "failed to recognise that the influence of the traditional religion and world view is still in play,"[161] the committee's work, as summarised below, showed that they took the Ghanaian worldview into consideration and were very sympathetic to the existing camps. They recommended the approval of prayer camps to the Church, however, the name was to be changed to Prayer centres. "Centre" was thought to be a more "modern" term than "camp," which appears quite "primitive."

[158] M. K. Yeboah, Circular Letter to All Assemblies, Accra, April 28, 1993.
[159] Ghana Apostolic Church, Minutes, 1962, 10.
[160] The Church of Pentecost, Report of National Prayer Camp Committee, Accra, June, 1995; M. K. Yeboah, Pastoral letter of Prayer Centres, Accra, July 25, 1995.

Further, in line with CoP's constitution, they recommended that the Executive consider conferring the office of Prophet/Evangelist to the camp leaders with proven gifts and faithful service. The upkeep of the camp leaders was taken care of; the Church was to assist financially in building projects undertaken by some of the camps where necessary. The relation between the camps and Church was dealt with. Problems concerning practices, doctrine, government, environment, control and accountability were all successfully handled. Based upon their recommendation, the Executive again put a temporary embargo on the establishment of new camps, but within a year, two new camps had emerged in Accra where the principal officers of the Church lived. This is a signal that it is not easy to suppress the emergence of new camps.

2.4.6 Secession

Barely a month before the Prayer Camp Committee submitted its report, Evangelist Tabiri, who was a member of the committee, organised some of the leaders of the big prayer camps to form what was to be called "Pentecost Prayer Camps Leaders Association."[162] The Executive told them to wait to hear the outcome of the review committee's work, before carrying out the said association if the need be. Although they agreed to this, a month after the release of the report, Tabiri tendered his resignation to the Executive and started his Bethel Prayer Ministry.[163] Since Tabiri was

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[161] Ugwu, *Healing in the Nigerian Church*, 143.

[162] The Pentecost Prayer Camps Leaders Association, Minutes of the Maiden Meeting, Accra, May 16, 1995.

[163] When Tabiri left, none of the pastors followed him, yet he had many sympathisers within the pastorate. He went with some of the learned elders, including Dr S. A. Arthur, Antwi Bekoe, Kwamina Painstil, Kabila and Nyadea. But within two years all these elders whom he ordained pastors resigned. Tabiri's ministry initially (about twelve months) had a big following. It appears that any person or a group of persons who raises its voice against the Church hierarchy or leadership of any kind within the

very popular, a member of the "Apostles, Prophets, Evangelist and Area Heads Meeting" and the only one who severed relationship after the Committee's report,[164] his case needs to be examined as a case study. Tabiri tendered his resignation on personal grounds, and shrouded his main reasons from the Executive Council.[165] His main reasons could be found in his pronouncements and newsletters.[166]

The rationale behind Tabiri' failure to divulge his main reasons from the Executive needs to be investigated. This needs to be done in conjunction with the attempt to form an association by the leaders of the Prayer Camps, to find out if there was any relation between the two. Tabiri might not have divulged his reasons to the Executive for a possible dialogue, because he thought that the Executive would not have given in to his continuation of the "breaking" procedure. The recommendations of the Prayer Camp Committee which the Executive had already accepted, included the statement, "gestures

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Akan culture or the Ghanaian cultures is bound to gain a strong following because of the "silence culture" within the lower segment of people and the youth.

[164] Although, four years later, Philip Newman and Paa Nii Okai also split from the Church, their cases were quite direct. Philip Newman's split was a reaction against a disciplinary measure taken against him on the ground of immorality, which he admitted. As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, Okai, a former Methodist member, joined the Church of Pentecost on his establishment of a camp. CoP disassociated itself from him, when it felt that he was using its members to establish a church. He had opened branches in other places beside his areas of jurisdiction. When the Executive discussed it with him, they could not resolve it. Rev. Samuel Kofi Ansong, Acting Chairman, Circular Letter, Accra, July 6, 1999.

[165] However, when he was pressed hard in a meeting convened by the Executive Council to discuss his resignation, he assigned the cause of his resignation to three pastors among the Church leadership (only one of them was an Executive member) whom he thought, were jealous about his popularity. He then said that some people had informed him that the Executive Council had planned "to step him down from the church's platform" and "remove his ministerial collar." After a thorough investigation into his complaints, the Executive told him that there was no iota of truth in what he had heard. That is, the Executive had not thought of dismissing him. He was then asked to withdraw his resignation, and although he agreed to do this, he severed relationship with CoP in the same month, July 1999. This was an indication that Tabiri had shrouded his main reasons here. The Church of Pentecost, Minutes of Emergency Executive Meeting, Accra, July 5, 1995.

[166] For example, see Paul Owusu Tabiri, "What I Mean by Breaking," *Bethel News* 5 (1994): 5-7, 22, 25; Owusu, "The Genesis of Bethel Prayer Camp." Sampong, "The Growth of Prayer Centres," 62-63. Pastor Sampong interviewed Bishop Owusu Tabiri.

like 'shooting of Satan, etc' should not be encouraged."[167] But the concretisation of deliverance usually called "breaking" was the fabric of the Bethel Prayer Camp; without "breaking," there was no Bethel Ministry.[168] Thus here Tabiri saw the Committee's report as a threat to his ministry. The move to establish an association a month before the committee presented their report might be seen as Tabiri's attempt to overrule the committee's forthcoming report or to find a cover under the association. As mentioned already, the Committee's report was sympathetic to the existing prayer camps. Even in some areas, their recommendations were similar to the aims and objectives of the Prayer Camps Leaders Association. For example, both wanted to work within the confines of Scripture and uphold the interest of CoP.[169] Nevertheless, a critical enquiry into the aims and objectives of the Prayer Camp Leaders Association reveals that their most essential need, a sense of identity, expressed in four of the eleven aims and objectives were not addressed in the committee's report.[170] Thus, Tabiri might have thought that through such an association of people of similar interest, he would have been able to put forward his views convincingly, or might have used others to promote them for him. But, as this attempt failed and he was a member of the Prayer Camp Committee, he might have found it unsettling to put this argument before the Executive. It becomes clear therefore that Tabiri felt that for his ministry which had become the source of his income to survive, he needed to break away.

[167] The Church of Pentecost, National Prayer Camp, 3.
[168] Tabiri was the one who initiated breaking rituals in CoP. See section 2.4.4.3 above.
[169] The Pentecost Prayer Camps Leaders Association, Minutes, 1; The Church of Pentecost, National Prayer Camp, 3.
[170] Four of the association's aims and objectives which reflect this need are: numbers (i) to be united in body and spirit (iv) to organise crusades, for the purpose of uplifting Christ in furtherance with the Church's objective of evangelization (vi) to bring about peace, unity and love among Prayer Camp Leaders (viii) to encourage mutual fellowship among the Prayer Camps through period exchange of visits. The Pentecost Prayer Camps Leaders Association, Minutes, 1.

Thus here, just like the prophetic movement in the 1950s, conceptualisation, the sense of identity and the role of the prayer centre leaders within the main structure of the Church become major problems. There seems to be "silence" around the issue of prayer camps, after the submission of the report by the prayer camp committee. However, since CoP has no theological framework for the camps, they operate "outside" CoP's structure, and their roles depend on the pastors in the area, there are bound to be further problems; the Church needs to provide a theological framework for its healing and exorcistic ministry.

3 "WITCHDEMONOLOGY": EMANCIPATION OR SERVITUDE

3.1 Interpretation

"Witchdemonology," as discussed, shows that it operates within the framework of Akan traditional religion. Most of the various spirit entities discussed in Chapter Two—*abosom, mmoatia, bayie*,— and new ones, such as Maami Wata and ancestral curses, become life-threatening forces. These were considered as the conceptualisation of particular fears, which have been expressed around particular cultural meanings. The battle against these evil powers—deliverance—expresses the people's obsession with protection or security and their need for physical healing together with spiritual salvation.

The discussion also shows that the ministry of exorcism gets its foundation from the missionaries' interpretation of traditional and other religions, and receives its strength

from the North American preachers. Just like the missionaries, the proponents of "witchdemonology" see many traditional practices, such as the pouring of libation, participation at festivals, giving of some names, traditional medicine, family gatherings and the *abosom*, as satanic. Yet it departs from the missionaries' interpretation when it comes to the concept of power. The missionaries did not believe that these forces were real, and salvation in Christ was all that was necessary. "Witchdemonology's" popularity is based on the assumption that the powers of the Akan traditions, which are considered evil, are still at work, seeking the downfall of people, even if they are not aware of it. It is exactly here where "witchdemonology" finds its strength in the ministries and materials of the North American deliverance exponents; as analysed already, these accept that there is power associated with demons and "foreign gods." Thus Gifford concludes, "undoubtedly the U.S. charismatic demonology has traditional African beliefs; but the demonology of Africa's contemporary charismatic churches may well be getting its special character through the power of American literature."[171] What comes out here is that in the attempts to appropriate foreign Christian materials for their use, the proponents of "witchdemonology" are concerned about demonisation, especially in the African traditional practices, and how to exorcise such demonised things, which they believe are threats to their successful living.

This issue of power brings into focus the topic of conversion. Horton's assertion that in conversion the Africans substitute the worship of the old spirits with the High God also

[171] Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 170.

stands for the Akan Christian.[172] Yet his emphasis on the High God, with the notion that at some time people would stop believing in the existence of the lesser gods,[173] was an error, since the attraction to Christianity was based on the claim that the power of the High God was able to overcome the power of the lesser gods. Thus here conversion was not based on disbelief in the gods but belief in the power of the Christian God to overpower the traditional gods. Horton therefore failed to take into consideration the context,[174] which is vital in the processes of conversion. Rambo observes that "the context not only provides the social/cultural matrix which shapes a person's myths, rituals, symbols and beliefs, it also has a powerful impact in terms of access, mobility, and opportunity for even coming into contact with religious change."[175] From this perspective, therefore, "witchdemonology" becomes an institution where the fears of the Akan Christians, just like the other traditional cultures in Ghana, can fully be expressed and addressed harmoniously within the Christian context.

Again, like the missionaries, proponents of this "theology" see Islam and other religions as the sphere of Satan. But unlike the missionaries, who see conversion as the only remedy for other religions, these people advocate deliverance in addition to conversion.

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[172] Robin Horton, "African Conversion," *Africa* 41, no. 2 (1971):85-108; see also Robin Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion, Part 1," *Africa* 45, no. 3 (1975): 219-35; Robin Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion, Part 11," *Africa* 45, no. 3 (1975): 373-99. For discussions and criticisms on conversion and Horton's assertion, see Humphrey Fisher, "Conversion Reconsidered: Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black Africa," *Africa* 43, no. 1 (1973): 27-40; Robert W. Hefner, "World Building and the Rational of Conversion," in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspective on a Great Transformation*, Robert W. Hefner, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 20-25; Terence Ranger, "The Local and the Global in Southern African Religious History," in *Conversion to Christianity*, 65-98; Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 109-10.

[173] Cf. Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 110.

[174] Context here is what the social- psychologists explain as "the total social, cultural, religious, and personal environment." Lewis R. Rambo, "The Psychology of Religion," in *Handbook on Religious Conversion*, H. Newton. Malony and S. Southard, eds. (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1992), 163.

The Spiritual churches and sometimes the Catholic Church are seen as part of the satanic kingdom, where conversion and deliverance are recommended for its members who change adherence to Pentecostal churches. Thus there is no need for dialogue with these churches and other religions at all. By putting too much emphasis on demonisation and deliverance, the proponents of this ministry appear to be too exclusive in this "pluralistic religious market of contemporary society,"[176] have been too harsh on other religions and have also rejected their own cultures. Consequently there is a potential cognitive conflict between Pentecostals and their culture and other religions.[177]

Many scholars, such as Hackett,[178] Gifford,[179] van Dijk[180] and Marshall,[181] have observed the strong position which neo-Pentecostals have taken against traditional religion and other religions in Africa, that which Hackett describes as "somewhat merciless toward 'traditional' and 'ancestral beliefs' and practices."[182] Meyer feels by

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[175] Rambo, "The Psychology of Conversion," 164.
[176] Hunt, "Managing the Demonic," 226.
[177] For example, Muslims who have converted such as Adatula and Ahmed Adjei help in reaching the Islamic communities in Ghana. For the Moslems, this is an offence to them, and occasionally this attempt by Christians to reach them generates riot. Cf. Nathan Samwini, Ph.D. Student, University of Birmingham, Personal Communication, Birmingham, January 15, 2001. Rev. Samwini is the head of the Department for Christian-Muslim Relations with the Christian Council of Ghana.
[178] Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVII, no. 3 (1998): 258-77.
[179] Paul Gifford, "Ghanaian Charismatic Churches," *Journal of African Religion* 64, no. 3 (1994): 241-46; Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 151-78; Gifford, *African Christianity*, 97-109.
[180] Rijk A. van Dijk, "From Camp to Encompassment: Discourses of Transsubjectivity in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26, no. 4 (1992): 1-25; Rijk A. van Dijk, "Young Puritan Preachers in Post-Independent Malawi," *Africa* 62, no. 4 (1992): 1-25.
[181] Ruth Marshall, ""Power in the Name of Jesus ": Social Transformation and Pentecostalism in Western Nigeria "Revisited"," in *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth-Century Africa: Essays in Honour of A. H. M. Kirk-Greene*, Terence Ranger and Olufemi Vaughan, eds. (London: Macmillan in Association with St. Anthony's College, Oxford, 1993), 213-46; Ruth Marshall-Fratani, "Mediating the Global and the Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3 (1998): 278-315.
[182] Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies," 261.

such stress the scholars have played down the role which demonology played in the independent Spiritual churches. She writes, "they drew a much stricter boundary between non-Christian religion and Christianity than earlier studies of such churches might suggest.[183] But Meyer's point is weak here, since continuously her works appear to communicate the Pentecostals' "rigid stance towards traditional religion"[184] more than the scholars mentioned.[185]

This thesis identifies with those scholars who assess that neo-Pentecostals see more demons than the Spiritual churches. Put in another way, it is precisely at the point of demonology that the two movements meet and also divide. The reasons are that, for example, whereas both accepted the African worldview and dealt with it accordingly, the Spiritual churches did not promote the issue of the ancestral curses, complete exclusion from festivals and family gatherings. For the Spiritual churches, throwing away idols and stopping worshipping them were enough. But neo-Pentecostals or proponents of "witchdemonology" do not only advocate complete abstinence from traditional practices, they also see demons associated with them and "impose" deliverance on all who had come in contact with such practices. Thus proponents of "witchdemonology" are more "demon-conscious" than the Spiritual churches. Why the proponents of "witchdemonology" toe this line should be looked at from another angle. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, CoP, like other Pentecostals, has laid

[183] Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 174.
[184] Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness'," 244.
[185] Birgit Meyer, "Beyond Syncretism: Translation and Diabolization in the Appropriation of Protestantism in Africa," in *Syncretism/ Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, Charles Stewart and Shaw Rosalind, eds. (London: Routledge, 1994), 45-68; Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness,'" 237-255; Meyer, "Make a Complete Break," 316-349; Meyer, "Commodities and Power of Prayer," 751-776; Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 153, 173.

much emphasis on living a righteous and sinless life. It was held that such righteous living attracts abundant blessing, healing and prosperity from the Lord. Living a righteous life was thought possible through accepting Christ, receiving the Spirit baptism, participating regularly in church attendance, prayer and Bible study meetings.[186] Falling into any "open sin" such as fornicating or drinking brought suspension from membership. That most Pentecostals were not able to live this sort of life was pictured in the frequent suspension of members and officers, as well as in the dismissal of pastors who got involved in such practices.[187] "Witchdemonology" provides explanations for such failings. The claim is that a person can get engrossed in all that constitute Pentecostal spirituality and yet continue to sin, and be blocked from blessing or progress in life; the reason lies in witchcraft, demonic activities and ancestral curses. The remedy for such a person is deliverance.

From this perspective, that is, the neo-Pentecostals' emphasis on ancestral curses and deliverance, Meyer has postulated that, for neo-Pentecostals, to "become modern individuals" means breaking with the past.[188] By this, Meyer identifies with many of the current anthropologists, such as Comaroff and Comaroff, Geschiere, Colson and Parish, whose works in Africa have demonstrated that "witchcraft is a finely calibrated gauge of the impact of global cultural and economic forces on local relations…."[189]

[186] Receiving Christ, living a righteous life and the Holy Spirit baptism were the major factors in the preaching of the founder of CoP, James McKeown. See Chapter Three, section 5.2.4.
[187] For example, see Speaker Plan for South District, Kumasi, May 1982; Ansong, Circular Letter.
[188] Meyer, "Make a Complete Break," 102; Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness,'" 237-255; Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 215-16.
[189] Jean and John Comaroff, "Introduction," in *Modernity and Its Malcontents*, xxviii; Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997); 5-6; Elizabeth Colson, "The Father as Witch," *Africa* 70, no. 3 (2000): 333-58;

That this partly holds for the deliverance ministry within CoP is seen in the fact that 23% out of 805 respondents who expressed their reasons for visiting prayer centres were those who wanted success in business or prosperity in another area.[190] The desire to prosper or be modernised is also reflected in some of the testimonies given, such as those of Ferkah and Kwadwo analysed. There can be no doubt, however, that the quest for wholeness (e.g. prosperity, dignity, health, fertility and security) has its basis in the Akan culture; but within the culture, such desire was to enable one to support the extended family in order to be raised to the status of an ancestor (after death).[191] Thus here Meyer, as well as the said anthropologists, does well to unearth the ultimate outcome of the deliverance ministry, that is, promotion of individualism, as against the interest of the traditional extended family system. Nevertheless, this assertion does not take into account the main reason why many clients consult exorcists. As demonstrated already in this thesis, the rationale behind consultation is often toward *abisa*, that is, the desire to find out the causation of one's problems. Deliverance often becomes a remedy after diagnosis has been made.

Besides this point, the scholars mentioned above and others, including Kamphausen, Asamoah-Gyadu and Meyer herself elsewhere, see deliverance ministry as a response to modernity, where individual riches and foreign commodities are often seen as of demonic origin, and hence need to be exorcised.[192] Kamphausen, for example, notes

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Parish Jane, "The Dynamics of Witchcraft and Indigenous Shrines Among the Akan," *Africa* 69, no. 3 (1999): 427-47.

[190] See section 2.4.2 above.

[191] See Chapter Two, sections 1.3 and 2.6.

[192] Erhard Kamphausen, "Pentecostalism and De-Fetishism: A Ghanaian Case Study," *An International Theological Consultation of the Six Member Churches of the Bremen Mission Held in Ghana* Ho,

that "the hermeneutical key to the decoding of the Pentecostal symbolic system seems to be implied in the concept of Western commodities being of strange origin."[193] Thus becoming a "modern individual" cannot be the real concern of the deliverance advocates.

There is, therefore, a paradox in the neo-Pentecostal's concept of "witchdemonology." On the one hand, the neo-Pentecostals are seen as carrying the message of the missionaries by considering traditional practices as demonic, and on the other hand, they seem to carry on the practices of anti-witchcraft shrines by exorcising anything that gives them cause to doubt their origins and authentication.[194] Thus "witchdemonology" cannot be placed under modernity, neither can it be identified as pre-modernity. Clearly, it derives its strength from postmodernity, where the traditional religion and Christianity can peacefully coexist as a coherent theology.[195] That the rise of postmodernity is a possible way of explaining the acceptability of deliverance within CoP is that whereas exorcism had been featuring prominently in the history of the

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February 23-26 1999; Comaroff and Comaroff, "Introduction," xii-xiii; Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 276; Meyer, "Commodities and Power of Prayer,"751-776.

[193] Kamphausen, "Pentecostalism and De-Fetishism: A Ghanaian Case Study," 9.

[194] It should be mentioned here that this notion does not only demonise Western commodities, as sometimes such writings assume, but they also involve traditional things such as the making of rasta hair. This is clearly demonstrated in section 2.3.6 above, which deals with the demonic door ways.

[195] This assertion becomes apparent if various analyses of postmodernity by some scholars are taken into consideration. For example, Lyotard highlights fantasy as a major feature, and Barnes sees myth as having an acceptable place in this concept. Thus deliverance with its fantasies and mythologies clearly has its strength from post-modern philosophy. Jean-François Lyotard, "What is Postmodernism," in *Art in Theory: An Anthropology of Changing Ideas*, Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1990), 1009; Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Art in Theory*, 687-693. Furthermore, writing of current anthropologists such as Geschiere, Jean & John Comaroff show that ambiguity, which is neither African or European, features prominently in modern African witchcraft beliefs, see, for example, Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft*, 5; Jean and John Comaroff, "Introduction," xii; Peter Geschiere and Cyprian Fisiy, "Domesticating Personal Violence: Witchcraft, Courts and Confessions in Cameroon," *Africa* 64, no. 2 (1994): 323-41; Colson, "The Father as Witch," 333-58.

churches in Ghana, it had not come into the limelight.[196] But within the post-modern world, where "homogeneous plurality within fragmentation of cultures, traditions, ideologies, forms of life, language games, or life worlds,"[197] is a key feature, deliverance with all its contradictions is welcomed. Viewed from this angle, therefore, the desire of the Pentecostals can better be associated with what Cox calls '"primal spirituality," which he explains as the "largely unprocessed nucleus of the psyche in which the unending struggles for a sense of purpose and significance goes on."[198] Cox rightly observes that this is found in Pentecostalism world-wide and also underlies original biblical spirituality.[199] A nuance of Cox's assertion, "the sacred self," is what Csordas proposes as the centre of charismatic healing and deliverance ministry in North America.[200] Thus Csordas sees an inquiry into the sacred and the search for meaning as the underlying factors of charismatic healing and deliverance ministry.

Not coincidentally, this sort of "primal spirituality" intersects with the Akan traditional spirituality, especially with regard to *abisa* (divinatory-consultation) and the rituals that follow. As has been demonstrated already in this thesis *abisa* underpins major religious revivals that have taken place in Ghana. Thus as it was in *ɔdomankoma* movement, other anti-witchcraft shrines and the Spiritual churches, so it is with the neo-Pentecostals. This is inevitable, taking into consideration the Pentecostal's stress on the word of knowledge, prophecy or discerning of spirits in diagnosing the specific type of

[196] Top personalities who required deliverance before this era went underground for it. Cf. Omenyo, "The Charismatic Renewal," 178.
[197] Philip Sampson, "The Rise of Postmodernity," in *Faith and Modernity*, Philip Sampson, Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden, eds. (Oxford: Regnum, 1994), 41.
[198] Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 81.
[199] Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 213, 228, 243.
[200] Csordas, *The Sacred Self*, 15-24.

demon behind a problem. In this regard, it will be posited that "witchdemonology" is the direct successor of neither traditional religion, represented as "primal religion," nor mission Christianity, represented as "modernity," but it is a synthesis of both. The missing ingredients that bind together the two religions are the prosperity and deliverance proponents, mostly from North America, represented as postmodernity. The transitional ministries were the Spiritual churches and the classical Pentecostal movements. Thus "witchdemonology" has come to stay in Akan Christianity. Therefore, there is the need to evaluate the usefulness of this ministry. The primary norms for this evaluation, as Yong proposes for the comparative category of religious utility, "are moral and ethical in nature. "[201] The "guru of world ethics," Hans Küng, has proposed that considering "the *humanum* as a general ethical criterion" is *sine qua non* in assessing the truth of all religions.[202] Other criteria, which "the Declaration"[203] proposes, are "irrevocable directives"[204] and "a transformation of consciousness."[205] For now, with these valuable criteria as a basis, the evaluation takes into consideration

[201] Amos Yong, *Discerning the Spirit (s): A Pentecostal-Charismatic Contribution to Christian Theology of Religions* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 251.

[202]Hans Küng, "What is True Religion? Toward an Ecumenical Criteriology," in *Toward a Universal Theology of Religion*, Leonard Swidler, ed. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1987), 239. By this, he meant the basic criterion, which was also embodied in the Declaration of the Parliament of the World's Religions, that "it is a fundamental demand that every human being must be treated humanely." Küng has demonstrated that a general ethical criterion is applied to all human endeavours, institutions and religions. Thus, as he explains, to assess the truth of a religion is to examine whether or not the religion appears like inhuman, obviously slights, injures, or perhaps even destroys the human person. Are things such as prayer, asceticism and fasting justified, if they serve as means and ways to "mystical experience? Hans Küng and Karl-Josef Kuschel, *A Global Ethic: The Declaration of the Parliament of the World's Religions* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1993), 21; Küng, "What is True Religion?" 240.

[203] The "Declaration" here refers to the Declaration made by the Parliament of World's Religions, comprising 6,500 people from every possible religion, which met in Chicago from 28 August to 4 September 1993. Küng and Kuschel, *A Global Ethic*, 8.

[204] Here "the Declaration" proposes four irrevocable directives: (I) Commitment to a culture of non-violence and respect for life; (ii) Commitment to a culture of solidarity and a just economic order; (iii) Commitment to a culture of tolerance and life of truthfulness; (iv) Commitment to a culture of equal rights and partnership between men and women. Küng and Kuschel, *A Global Ethic*, 24-34.

the effects of this local contextualisation ("witchdemonology") on the Akan people and their culture.

3.2 Emancipation

The positive aspects of "witchdemonology" are seen in several ways:

Firstly, it offers its adherents the opportunity to oscillate between the traditional and Christian beliefs and practices. Here people are able to express their fears in witchcraft and other life threatening forces and seek protection from them. For those who think that ancestral spirits are hampering their progress in this modern world, they have the opportunity to be "exorcised." Some people see this way of "deliverance" as cheaper than the expenses incurred in counselling that will be offered in the Western concept.[206]

Secondly, in a way, clients are made to work on their own exorcism and healing, as fasting and prayer are prescribed for them, which seem to communicate to clients that to succeed in life is "to work out your own salvation with fear and trembling" (Php. 2:12). It must, however, be said that, as the narratives show, clients do not often take it this way.

Thirdly, the proliferation of the camps and deliverance ministry has caused CoP to reconsider its beliefs and practices. The prayer camps are characterised by many

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[205] The Declaration demands that since "all our decisions and deeds, even our omissions and failures, have consequences," transformation must be achieved in areas of ethics and values. Küng and Kuschel, *A Global Ethic*, 34-35.

[206] Cf. Sampong, "The Growth of Prayer Centres," 116-18.

reports of miraculous phenomena as against few in the conventional CoP services. This state of affairs in CoP has some relations with the growth of the Church in the 1980s; wealth accompanied the growth.[207] The Church left behind the spiritual vigour which it assumed in the 1960s and the 1970s, and which helped them to meet the spiritual needs of the people. This trend caused the Executive Council in consultation with the Extraordinary Council to put forth principles to guide the conduct of pastors on monetary affairs within the Church.[208] That the pastors did not take kindly to the said principles is illustrated in the fact that the practices in connection with farewell, welcome, retirement and fund raising services have been resurrected with a new vitality.[209] It can therefore be said that, like all human institutions, CoP (the areas, districts and local churches), is subject to power struggles, prejudices and the politics of leadership.[210] One of Weber's contributions to the study of religion, the differentiation of "priest" from "prophet," comes into play here. Weber observes that the more religion became involved in doctrinal and monetary issues, "the more efficacious it was in provoking rational lay-thinking, freed of priestly control. From the laymen thinking,

[207] Primarily this wealth remains with the headquarters and the local churches. The pastor's financial strength depends upon the type of area, district or local church he ministers, and also the type of farewell or welcome services he receives. Consequently, some people thought that in order to secure their position of leadership, they would have to organise gifts for their immediate superiors, during their normal ministerial services and also farewell, welcome or retirement services. Many church programmes were geared to getting money for these purposes. From this perspective, some pastors have been or were accused of promoting, well connected, bootlicking persons and "those who knew how to give." See The Church of Pentecost, Minutes of the 4th Session of Extra-Ordinary Council Meeting, Koforidua, April 10-18, 1992.

[208] The decision attempted to stop pastors from putting pressure on members to offer them money. They specifically address donations given to church officials after preaching and other occasions, including farewell, welcome and retirement services, and fund raising. Levying churches and deduction at source (taking money before recording for donation) for donation purposes were also discouraged. The Church of Pentecost, Minutes, 1992, 14-18.

[209] This was evident during my fieldwork, many people who want to remain anonymous complained about it.

[210] Maxwell sees something similar to this in current Zimbabwe Pentecostalism. David Maxwell, "Catch the Cockerel Before Dawn: Pentecostalism and Politics in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe," *Africa* 70, no. 2 (2000): 249-279.

however, emerged prophets who were hostile to priests…."[211] Thus, just like the case of the anti-witchcraft shrine, the proliferation of the camps and deliverance ministry are indisputably the outcome of a social order under examination by its subjects.

Fourthly, many new converts become Christians through the ministry of the camps and deliverance. This includes all sorts of people, from top government officials to the very low in society, people of neighbouring countries and from overseas.[212] Thus the camps become institutions for people who would not have normally found it easy to attend conventional church services.[213]

Fifthly, it offers women an equal access to places of leadership within CoP's ministry. Women who exhibit some charisma can establish prayer camps. Although, as shown in Chapter Two, CoP uses women in diverse ways, yet just like other classical Pentecostals in Ghana, CoP holds on to only male ordained pastors. Thus by women playing active leadership roles, the ministry of the prayer camps has not only been able

[211] Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. Edited and with an Introduction by Gerth Translated, H. H. and C. Wright Mills (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948), 351. See also, B. Scharf, *The Sociological Study of Religion* (London: Hutchinson, 1970), 151. Here Scharf brings to attention that for Weber "the priest is the servant of an existing order, the prophet is the centre of a new one. The priest typically receives regular fees or maintenance; the prophet depends on gifts and alms, for his new message is of criticism or even rebellion against the established order from which he must assert his independence."

[212] During my visit to Edumfa , I was shown pictures of some white people who had visited the camp for healing purposes. Mention was also made of a particular white man who had contributed a substantial amount in the US dollars towards the building of a modern church building at Edumfa. Again Edumfa claims that in 1999 alone a total of 2,160 new converts were baptised. At Goka (and Sunyani) 325 were baptised; in Accra 2373 were won at the prayer camps. The Church of Pentecost, 1999 Reports, 24, 52; The Church of Pentecost Abura Dunkwa District, Annual Report for the 1999, Edumfa.

[213] For example, in 1992 at the time when the former President, Rawlings, had never attended any official meeting of the Church of Pentecost, he attended an opening ceremony of the Asafo prayer camps. Sarpong, Interview. Rev Sarpong was the then Area Head of Sefwi/Dunkwa where the prayer camp was sited.

to contextualise the Pentecostal's ministry after the Akan traditional religious practices, but also has followed the trend in world Christianity.[214]

Sixthly, the prayer camps offer people a place for meditation. When people are perplexed in life and do not know what to do, the prayer centres become places to pray and reflect on practical life situations. Once a person has dreams or ideas, there is always a spiritual leader to consult for "spiritual interpretation." In connection with this, it also serves as the place of last resort for people for whom the medical sciences have been unable to solve their problems.[215] Formerly such cases were usually sent to the *abosom* (the gods) for healing. With the *abosom* considered as evil, the prayer centres become better substitutes.

3.3 Servitude

The positive side of "witchdemonology" does not, however, preclude a negative assessment of it. The negative side includes the following:

First, accusations of witchcraft release people from acknowledging the responsibility for their wrongdoing, their sins and their inadequacies, and they put them on someone else, often a poor person, who becomes the enemy of the whole community. The

[214] For readings on women and theology, see Mercy A. Oduyoye and M. M. Fabella, eds., *With Passion and Compassion: Third World Women Doing Theology* (Maryknoll: Obis Books, 1996); Mercy M. Oduyoye, *Daughters of Anowa: Africa Women and Patriarchy* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995); Pamela Holmes, "An Educational Encounter: A Pentecostal Considers the Work of Elisabeth Fiorenza," *The 30 Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies,* (2001): 493-512; Elisabeth S. Fiorenza, *Bread not Stone: The Challenge of Feminist Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984); Elisabeth S. Fiorenza, *Discipleship of Equals: A Critical Feminist Ekkl- Esia- Logy of Liberation* (London: SCM, 1993).

[215] Cf. Sarpong, "The Growth of Prayer Centres," 116.

American comedian Flip Wilson's line, "the devil made me do it," cannot be more relevant here.[216] This is why Shorter sees witchcraft accusation as "auto-salvation or self-justification."[217]

Further, although the victims of witchcraft accusation and exorcism are often women, children (especially girls) and maids, yet during my field work, males who claimed that they were practising witchcraft outnumbered females. The treatments given to such persons, as pointed out already, are often cruel, inhumane and unsympathetic. Thus, as pictured in the comparison of Ferkah's case with Abena's, "witchdemonology" is often used as a tool of oppression of the poor; the very people which the Pentecostal ministry is supposed to help.[218]

Second, the method of accusing people of witchcraft is too subjective and gives room for people to "disgrace" their "enemies." [219] As has been shown elsewhere in this chapter, such accusations are based on dreams, "prophetic utterances" through spirit possession, and their interpretations by spiritual leaders which go unchallenged. But dreams can be the wanderings of the dreamer's soul and the interpretations may well

[216] See Victor F. Winkler, "Exorcism Today," <http:www//logochristianorg.exocism.html>, February 11, 1999.
[217] Aylward Shorter, *Jesus and the Witchdoctor: An Approach to Healing and Wholeness* (London: Orbis Books, 1985), 96.
[218] See Hanna Stewart-Gambino and Everet Wilson, "Latin America Pentecostals: In Stereotypes and New Challenges," in *Power, Politics, and Pentecost in Latin America*, Edward L. Cleary and Hanna Steward-Gambino, eds. (Oxford: Westview Press, 1998), 240; Robert M. Cecil, "Pentecostals and Social Ethics," *PNEUMA* 9 (1987): 103-07; Cheryl Bridges Johns, *Pentecostal Formation: A Pedagogy Among the Poor* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 46-61,138-140; Samuel Solivan, *The Spirit, Pathos and Liberation: Toward an Hispanic Pentecostal Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).
[219] This can be compared to the Salem situation as illustrated in *The Crucible*. Arthur Miller, *The Crucible* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1967). See also Gilbert Geis and Ivan Bunn, *A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Prosecution* (London: Routledge, 1997).

confirm clients' suspicions. Thus using dreams as a window to witchcraft accusation is very subjective and as such dangerous.

"Spirit possession"[220] also may be equated with dissociation or altered states of consciousness, which is actualised by suggestibility. Being in "this possessed state" makes it easy for a great deal of the material in the unconscious to break loose to the conscious, thus perceiving it as a spirit entity coming from without. Here therefore spirit possession is a very subjective phenomenon. Yet since the mind is projected outwardly, the phenomenon is experienced objectively; thus the people around see it outwardly. Accordingly an exorcist may have a reasonable ground for performing exorcism on a person who claims to be possessed with an evil spirit. Nevertheless, the product of the possession may be that, as Csordas observes among the Catholic Charismatic in the US, the demons being exorcised are past memories, harbouring negative emotions or having bitterness against people.[221] In a way, if these negative unconscious materials are brought out and exorcised from those who manifested them, they may be considered beneficial. On the other hand, if those who projected their minds outwardly accused others of witchcraft, as in the case of Afia, Kwadwo's wife, then such manifestations become dangerous, since they become means of intimidating and undermining one's "enemies."

Third, the teaching on witchcraft and demons, coupled with testimonies from "exorcised witches" subjects the congregants to pressures quite disproportionate to the

[220] Spirit possession here refers to people who claimed to be possessed by some spirits and begin to speak as conveyed in some of the cases cited in this chapter.

phenomena described. Thus people are psychologically led to confess antisocial behaviours and nocturnal issues which baffle them as witchcraft activities. These confessions can attract stigmatisation from other members of society, and thus instead of exorcism and healing leading to liberation, the physical and psychological conditions of such people worsens and in extreme cases lead to death.[222]

Fourth, in some cases when accused and suspected witches fail to confess or do not know what to confess, they attract hostility from relatives who presume that failure to confess means unwillingness to surrender witchcraft. Sometimes, if these relatives' subsistence depends upon receiving periodic remittances from these family members, they are stopped.[223] Thus, sometimes people are forced to confess unnecessary issues such as Adwoa, who claimed responsibility for all the deaths at the Komfo Anokye Hospital in Kumasi. Such confessions cause confusion and divide the family (including the extended family). Thus instead of exorcism effecting healing and happiness, they rather cause problems such as rejection and isolation.

Fifth, many of the symptoms taken as witchcraft or spirit possession can be explained away by medical science. For examples, seizures may be symptoms of epilepsy.

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[221] Csordas, *The Sacred Self*, 104-200.

[222] There are many such cases. For example, Pastor Amaniampong reported the cases of two women who confessed to witchcraft possession and died after their confessions. One was disturbed and died naturally after three months. The other committed suicide after she accepted causing many harms to others. Amaniampong, interview. Further in 1998, I was watching a video cassette of a "prophet" from Ghana who visited London in late 1997. I saw in his prognostication that he accused a mother who had just visited her daughter in London of being the ɔbayifoɔ (witch) which was causing the sickness of her daughter. The scene was so disturbing that I decided to pay a visit to the family (the daughter and her mother) and counsel them, but unfortunately I was informed that soon after the incident the mother died.

[223] For example, see Appendix 2 A. Ferkah had to stop taking care of his sister because of suspicion of witchcraft.

Personality changes can be psychological malfunctions or mental disorders such as hysteria, schizophrenia or paranoia.[224] Habitual behaviours, such as sexual desire, anger tantrums and extreme quietness may be temperamental traits or associated with past memories.

On the one hand, if these symptoms can be explained scientifically or psychologically, then, there is something there that is difficult for the "ordinary person" to understand. That is, the "ordinary person" is not just naïve in his/her deduction of witchcraft or spirit possession in connection with the activities of these people, whose behaviours seem abnormal; for indeed there is something there. But that something may not be what they think, namely, witchcraft or possessing a spirit entity. This line of interpretation becomes clearer if other issues are taken into consideration. For example, where people do not believe in spirit possession, they rarely experience being possessed by outside beings, be it good or evil.[225] Even, in the conventional Pentecostal services, where Spiritual gifts are emphasised but deliverance is not a focus, demons and witches are seldom found and exorcised. But, whenever one visits exorcistic meetings where deliverance is emphasised, witchcraft and demonic activities are often manifested and exorcised. Thus, it is often the belief system that becomes the deciding factor in conclusions of witchcraft or spirit possession by people. Yet, it may be argued here that

[224] Rattray describes a case when a spirit-possessed person "seemed to be seized with a fit," just as he was about to address a god, another priest had to take over. Robert Sutherland Rattray, *Ashanti* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), 186. In her study of spirit possession in Ghana, Field observes closely that it was difficult to escape the conclusion that most of the spirit possessed people were schizophrenic. She concludes, "I do not think that there is any direct connection between schizophrenia and dissociation, but neither are they mutually exclusive and *okomfo* [spirit – possessed priest] has probably the same chance of becoming schizophrenic as anyone else. Field, *Search for Security*, 63.

[225] Cf. Mark Bancroft <webmaster@enspire.com>, "The History & Psychology of Spirit Possession & Exorcism," <Spirit_possession.html>, January 12 2000.

if one indeed receives deliverance from one's problem after exorcism, then the case may be considered "demonic."

On the other hand, if the problem is not witchcraft or spirit possession, and repeated exorcisms are carried out to no avail, the person's condition is worsened, as was seen in the case of Akosua. Further, such repeated exorcisms and failure to exorcise these things strengthen people's fear about witchcraft and "the extraordinary power" of the evil forces. Thus this belief system weakens the power which the followers of Christ claim[226] and draws people back to the unseen world of speculations.

Sixth, the socio-economic factor in Africa causes many people to begin prayer centres just as a means of financial support.[227] Since it does not need any training, certificate, or formal recognition from a body of Christians to begin a centre, charlatans and the unemployed who have strong personalities can easily claim spiritual encounters and begin camps with the aim of getting money for a living. Such people may not only innovate with things, such as rituals and images, to keep their camps going, but they may vehemently attack anything, whether good or bad, which stands in their way to success. This desire for success is also portrayed in the ways testimonies are presented by "delivered witches." Although these testimonies are supposed to expose the works of the devil, the emphasis on the atrocities that the "delivered witches" had done and

[226] E. g. Mk. 16:15-18; Lk. 10:19; Eph. 1:15-23.
[227] The cases of two camp leaders, cited in this chapter, who established prayer centres after they had lost their jobs, are cases in point.

how the camps leaders' prayers had delivered the victims[228] indicates that the intent appears to be giving the exorcists' popularity or publicity for the purpose of getting more clients. This notion of success at all costs and by all means, as already reflected in the discussion, is bound to create confusion, clashes of interest with church leadership, and lead to schisms. Consequently, an appraisal of this side of the camps alone leads one to conclude, as some have done on the "prosperity Churches,"[229] that the desire for wealth is the main aim of prayer centres and deliverance exponents, but, as has been pointed out, this is not the whole story. In many cases, however, people are exploited for fame and money.

Linked with this socio-economic factor are the deliverance teachings at the centres, which consider health and wholeness as the result of obedience to biblical principles on blessings, at the neglect of the biblical principle of suffering;[230] an issue, which causes people to strive after modern riches at their own peril.

Seventh, in this approach, everything that goes against their theology is demonised and exorcised. This includes the traditional religion or, as portrayed in the discussions, everything African, the Spiritual churches, the Roman Catholic Church and Islam. In a

[228] See the examples given at the chapter.
[229] Anderson addresses this issue and rightly assesses that "the idea that African 'prosperity' churches are led by unscrupulous manipulators greedy for wealth and power" is oversimplified." For him, it "does not account for the increasing popularity of these churches with educated and responsible people, who continue to give financial support and feel their needs are met there." Allan Anderson, "Christian Education in the Modern African Church: A Response," *The 30 Annual Meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, (2001): 1-2.
[230] E. g. 2 Cor. 12:7-12; Lk. 13:1-5; Rom. 8: 35-39.

pluralistic world, this does not only deter healthy ecumenism but it brings unnecessary tension between Pentecostalism and other religions and Christians.

Eighth, it divides the traditional family system and promotes individualism. This is evident in the demonisation of almost all cultural practices and thus the stress on breaking links with these practices, the accusation of witchcraft which is often done through people who claimed to be possessed by some spirits, and also the interpretation of dreams offered by some "spiritual leaders." Yet the firm establishment of the extended family system makes it appear that the more one attempts to cut the tie between oneself and the family, the more one comes under stress, feels disturbed, isolated and thus experiences more "witchcraft attacks." The fact is that, for example, one cannot ignore the extended family in marriage contracts and funeral ceremonies.[231] Thus the problem facing such individuals who attempt to break the family ties is bound to increase. Perhaps this explains why people who visit the camps virtually become servants to these camps; the camps create a new community of families. Yet the constant need for deliverance by adherents shows that this creation of new families does not fulfil their holistic needs.

Ninth, directly linked with the above is the point that the consistent need for deliverance, as conveyed in the testimonies given, suggests the substitution of one kind of servitude for another, and the new, by its demand to break links with the culture, appears to be dominant. The focus on the prayer camp leader becomes a stumbling

[231] Cf. Opoku Onyinah, *Taking the Ultimate Step in Marriage* (Accra: Pentecost Press Ltd., 1996), 49-59.

block to the growth of the clients' own spiritual development; the clients become too dependent on the spiritual leader.

Tenth, although the camps become a means of bringing prominent people to Christianity, since people who need exorcism and healing are referred to them, salvation becomes expensive for the poor. One will have to travel to "a spiritual person" before one's needs are met, contrary to the New Testament teaching that signs will follow all who believe.[232] While Asamoah-Gyadu has rightly postulated that CoP ministry demystified the role of the prophets in Ghana and as such contributed to the decline of the Spiritual Churches,[233] the ministry of "witchdemonology" has re-mystified this role. Thus contrary to the practices in the 1960s when the "prophethood" of all believers was evident, as Anderson comments of the neo-Pentecostals, the doctrine of the "priesthood of believers" may be "more imagined than real."[234] Consequently, this ministry draws people backwards to the strong dichotomy between prophet (or clergy) and laity relation, where it is conceived that the real power is entrusted with the prophet (clergy).

Eleventh, "witchdemonology" reinforces the "primitive animistic" belief system that keeps communities in servile fearfulness and hampers progress. There are many instances where people have stopped putting up buildings in the hometowns for fear of witches. For example, with the fear that witches would kill him, Ferkah, as shown in his report, had to stop putting up a building in his hometown and encouraged his cousin also to do likewise. Thus, as this ministry proliferates and people continue to attribute

[232] E. g. Acts 1:8; Mk. 16:15-18.
[233] Asamoah-Gyadu, "Renewal Within African Christianity," 130.

things to witchcraft and other forces, society's fear of evil forces is increased and, thereby hampers modern development. [235]

Twelfth, the uncritical approach adopted by both proponents and adherents of this ministry encourages dubious people to deceive others with their exaggerated or fabricated testimonies. People who attempt to challenge some of the testimonies are considered sceptics of the supernatural. Besides, as conveyed through Ferkah's story, it is assumed that theologians cannot understand "spiritual things," thus in this case a theologian cannot teach such people. Apparently, exponents of this ministry are not subject to teaching. The major problem with this is that such people can lead sincere people to disaster, just as the case of the Church of the Ten Commandments in Uganda and other places, as World history shows.[236]

4 CONCLUSION

"Witchdemonology" has been shown to be based on the synthesis of both Akan traditional religion and Christianity. The complex problems that one encounters in evaluating "witchdemonology" were evident after considering both the positive and the negative effects.[237] On the one hand, it takes the culture of the people into consideration, by dealing with related beliefs and threatening fears in their newly acquired faith, through a synthesis of both old and new patterns. As Meyer concludes,

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[234] Anderson, "Christian Education in the Modern African Church: A Response," 2.
[235] Formerly some communities had protested against the government for constructing roads at specific areas because the places had been reserved for some deities. This may be revived.
[236] Cf. Werner Ustorf, *Sailing on the Next Tide: Missions, Missiology and the Third Reich* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000).
[237] Cf. M. L. Daneel, "Exorcism as a Means of Combating Wizardry: Liberation or Enslavement," *Missionalia* 18 no. 1 (1990): 240.

"in contrast to the mission-church Christianity, [it]… offers the possibility of approaching in safe context of deliverance what people seek to leave behind but still disturbs them."[238] Gifford then concludes that deliverance is relatively harmless.[239] From this perspective, it is clear that "witchdemonology" represents a remarkable contribution to a paradigm shift in Christianity among the Akan in Ghana. In a way, it is a further attempt to contextualise the gospel to the African people, beside those of the Spiritual churches and African Theology.

Nevertheless, the assessment of the negative effects makes this ministry alarming. Its preoccupation with demons and witches shows that it is an affirmation of the old order. They appear to have fallen into the weaknesses of the anti-witchcraft shrines and the Spiritual churches. Similar to what Sundkler observes about the Zionist healers in South Africa, their assertions and promises are "more high sounding than they are sound."[240] The approach seems to fit well into the Akan cultural milieu, but the emphasis appears to be a threat to the progress of Christianity and modernity in Ghana. In spite of their rapid growth, by their approach, they cannot bring the Akan out of the fear of *bayie* (witchcraft) and other supernatural powers. It is difficult at this juncture not to agree with Karl Marx that "religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people." [241] But, unlike Marx who thought that religion should be abolished for real

[238] Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 216.
[239] Gifford, *African Christianity*, 107-8.
[240] Bengt G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 1948, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 236.
[241] K. Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction," *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1844, *K. Marx and F. Engels on Religion*, Second Impression (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), 42.

happiness,[242] the discussion so far reveals that this ministry has been progressive among the Akan people, and thus cannot be suppressed. Rather it depicts an incomplete ministry, which needs the theological analysis of the "demonic" to complement it.

[242] Marx, "Contribution to the Critique," 42.

CHAPTER SIX

TOWARDS CONTEXTUALISING EXORCISTIC MINISTRY

Contemporary "witchdemonology" in the Church of Pentecost was treated in the previous chapter. It emerged that there were practices that raised alarm within Akan societies thus necessitating a theological analysis of the "demonic" to complement it. This chapter is an attempt to contextualise exorcism within Akan Pentecostalism. Making use of studies carried out by biblical scholars, an examination of the "demonic" in the Bible is done with a view to identifying "witchdemonology" from a biblical perspective.[1] "Witchdemonology" is then compared to other practices of exorcism in the Church universal. Areas where there are tensions between "witchdemonology" and the Bible are identified. Then, there is a conscious effort to contextualise and offer pastoral reflections for consideration.

[1] It is not the intention of this chapter to engage in critical study of the "demonic" in the Bible. Since the ultimate aim of this chapter is to contextualise in order to offer pastoral reflections, it is thought that such critical approach may not be beneficial. For such critical study, see Jeremias, J. *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1958); Stevan L. Davies, *Jesus The Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1995); J. Gnilka, *Jesus of Nazareth* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997), 120-25; E. & M. Keller, *Miracles in Dispute* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 227-39; J. D. Crossan, *The History of Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Peasant* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), 303-32; R. A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 181-87.

1 "WITCHDEMONOLOGY" IN BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1 The Old Testament

The Akan belief in individual "powerful spiritual beings" finds its parallel in the Old Testament (OT).[2] Biblical scholars have shown that the Hebrew term "*mekashshepah*" translated "witch" in the Authorised Version can correctly be translated "sorcerer" or "sorceress" as translated in the Revised Version.[3] Similarly there is a general agreement among the OT scholars that in passages where the term "witchcraft" occurs, the terms "sorceries" or "magical arts" may be a proper rendering.[4] Although the meanings that these terms carry may not be the same as those of the Akan terms, such as *bayifoɔ* and *ɔkɔmfoɔ*, they indicate that in the OT there was a simple belief in persons who possessed some sort of supernatural power as believed by the Akan people.

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[2] The abbreviation "OT" is used throughout the thesis to mean the Old Testament.

[3] Ex. 22:18; Deut. 18:10. For example, see Malcolm J. A. Horsnell, "כשׁף" in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis, Volume 2*, Willem A. VanGemeren, General Editor (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997), 735-38; Merrill F. Unger, *Biblical Demonology: A Study of Spiritual Forces at Work Today*, 1963, Fifth Edition (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1994),153-55; George Parrinder, *Witchcraft: A Critical Study of the Belief in Witchcraft from the Records of Witch Hunting in Europe Yesterday and Africa Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 16; John I. Durham, *Exodus: Word Biblical Commentary*, David A. Hubbard, W. Glenn Barker, and D. W. John Watts, eds. (Wacco, Texas: Word Books, 1987), 327; J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus: New Century Bible*, Ronald E. Clements, ed. (London: Oliphants, 1971), 241; P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy: The New International Commentary on the Old Testament*, R. K. Harrison, ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976), 260-61; Anthony Philips, *Deuteronomy: The Cambridge Bible Testament Commentary*, P. R. Ackroyd, A. R. C. Leaney and J. W. Packer, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 125.

[4] The term "witchcraft" occurs in 2 Kings 9:22; Micah 5:12; 2 Chronicles 33:16 and Nahum 3:4. Also the correct translation of "the sin of witchcraft" in 1 Samuel 15:23 is said to be "the sin of divination," translated from the Hebrew term *qesem*. A proper rendering of the Hebrew term *yid' oni* which is translated "wizard" in Leviticus 19:31 is said to be a "familiar spirit." Similarly a proper rendering of term "wizard" in Isaiah 8:19 is said to be a "familiar spirit," from the Hebrew term *'ob*. For example, see John Gray, *1 & 11 Kings: Old Testament Library*, 1964, Third Edition (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1977), 547; Ralph L. Smith, *Micah- Malachi: Word Biblical Commentary*, David A. Hubbard, W. Glenn Barker and D. W. John Watts, eds. (Waco -Texas: Word Books, 1984), 48; James L. Mays, *Micah: Old Testament Library*, G. Ernest Wright, John Bright, James Barr, Peter Ackroyd, eds. (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1976), 126; John Mauchline, *Isaiah 1-39: The Torch Bible Commentaries* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1962), 108; Hans Wilhelm Haertzberg, *1 & 11 Samuel: Old Testament Library*, 1960, J. S. Bowden, trans., G. Ernest Wright, John Bright, James Barr, Peter Ackroyd , eds. Second Edition (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1972), 128; Noth Martin, *Leviticus: Old Testament Library*, J. E. Adams, trans., G. Ernest Wright, John Bright, James Barr, Peter Ackroyd, eds. (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1965), 144; Unger, *Biblical Demonology*, 144-47, 153-55.

There is also an unusual passage in Ezekiel, which comes close to the concept of witchcraft and "fetishism" in Akan.[5] The passage conveys the notion that by the use of "magic charms," some women, described by Weaver as "sorceresses"[6] were able to kill some people and keep others alive, and that they did this for payment.[7] The passage continues that "I will tear them from your arms," with the implication that God will deliver his people from these "powerful women."[8] Apparently, Ezekiel takes into consideration the religious beliefs and practices of the surrounding nations that had penetrated the Israelites and addresses them. As Eichrodt argues, "the prophet does not attempt any rational refutation of the absurdity of such superstition, but conquers it on its own ground by the demonstration of the spirit and of power."[9] It can therefore be assumed that the issue Ezekiel handles here is similar to those of the Akan Pentecostals in the sense that both claim that although some individuals appear to have some "unusual powers" to harm some people and to preserve others, God's power supersedes theirs.

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> This is what the Sovereign LORD says: Woe to the women who sew magic charm on all their wrists, and make veils various lengths for their heads in order to ensnare people. Will you ensnare the lives of my people, but preserve your own? You have profaned me among my people for a few handfuls of barley and scraps of bread. By lying to my people, who listen to lies, you have killed those who should not have died and have spared those who should not live. Therefore this is what the sovereign LORD says: I am against your magic charms with which you ensnare people like birds and I will tear them from your arms; I will set free the people that you ensnare like birds. I will tear off your veils and save my people from your hands, and they will no longer fall prey to your power. Then you will know that I am the Lord (Eze. 13:18-21).

[6] Weavers addresses these women as sorceresses. John W. Weavers, *The Century Bible Series: Ezekiel* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1969), 110

[7] Eze. 13:19.

[8] Eze. 13:20.

[9] Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 1965-66, trans. Cosslett Quin, G. Ernest Wright, John Bright, James Barr, Peter Ackroyd , eds. (London: SCM, 1970), 172.

The OT is quite clear about a being, explicitly called Satan three times, who is powerful and presides over a "kingdom" in league with others spirits, who oppose God and his people.[10] It hints at the complexity of the spirit world (his kingdom) which implies some sort of hierarchical control,[11] which may be similar to what proponents of "witchdemonology" assume. For example, the author of Deuteronomy affirms God's sovereignty over the nations and contrasts it with sacrificing to the gods of the nations who are considered demons.[12] Mayes, for example sees in Deuteronomy 32:8[13] "the idea of subordinate divine beings generally, with whom God holds council."[14] The issue of hierarchical control receives special attention in the book of Daniel where a passage describes "celestial powers" that have particular connections to the successive empires of Persia and Greece.[15] Thus the Akan concept of tutelar spirits (*abosom*) in charge of states and towns, which has found its way into "witchdemonology" as "territorial spirits" may find its correspondence here.

[10] 1Chr. 21:1; Zec. 3:1-2; Job 1:7-2:10.

[11] Keith Ferdinando, "Screwtape Revisited: Demonology Western, African and Biblical," in *The Unseen World: Christian Reflections on Angels, Demons and the Heavenly Realms*, Anthony N. S. Lane, ed. (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1996), 121.

[12] Deut.32:8, 17. Generally, the Old Testament assumes that when the people of Israel compromised their relationship with the Lord God and served the gods of other nations they were serving demons. For example, such message is implied in the prophetic condemnation of setting up high places, sacred stones, and Asherah poles on high mountains (1 Kgs 14:23; Hos. 10:1-15;Jer. 44:2-6; Eze. 6:13-14), making their sons pass through fire, engaging in shrine prostitution and sacrificing their sons to idols (1 Kgs. 14:24; Ps. 106:36-38) in consultation with foreign gods (1 Kgs. 1:1-4). Clinton E. Arnold, *Spirit Warfare: What Does the Bible Teach* (London: Marshall Pickering, 1999), 172. Robert B. Chrisholm, "'To Whom Shall You Compare Me?' Yahweh's Polemic Against Baal and the Babylonian Idol-Gods in Prophetic Literature," in *Christianity and the Religions: A Biblical Theology of World Religions*, Edward Rommen and Harold Netland, eds. (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1995), 56-71.

[13] " When the Most High gave the nations their inheritance, when he divided all mankind, he set up boundaries for the peoples according to the number of the sons of Israel."

[14] A. D. Mayes, *The New Century Bible Commentary Deuteronomy*, 1979, Ronald E. Clements, ed. (Grand Rapids:Eerdmans, 1987), 8-13. His interpretation is based on the Revised Standard Version, which following the reading of LXX and the Qumran adopts "sons of God" instead of " the sons of Israel" in NIV.

[15] Dan. 10:13-21. See Raymond Hammer, *The Book of Daniel*: *The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the English Bible*, P. R. Ackroyd, A. R. C. Leaney and J. W. Packer, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 102; D. S. Russell, *Daniel* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1981), 199-200; cf. David

The OT assumes the possibility of Satan and his allied spirits' preoccupation with the causation of misfortunes and evil behaviour similar to those claimed by proponents of "witchdemonology." These misfortunes are not limited only to unbelievers but also to believers. For example, in Genesis a being speaks through the serpent and causes the fall of the human race.[16] Satan seeks permission from God and brings calamities and distress to Job,[17] misleads David to count the Israelites,[18] and accuses Joshua the high priest.[19] Thus as the Jewish biblical scholar Tur-Sinai offers in his summary on "the Satan" in his commentary on Job, "there appeared at God's court a special figure, whose task was to inform and to accuse, and … report to him on the doings of his subjects."[20] From these passages in the OT, therefore, and as in "witchdemonology," misfortunes are engineered by Satan.

The concept of ancestral or generational curses in "witchdemonology" may be inferred indirectly from a few scriptural references. Clinton Arnold suggests that "intergenerational spirits may receive indirect biblical support in a couple of ways."[21] For example, he sees some sort of "spiritual root" in the tendencies of the kings of Israel repeatedly giving themselves to the allegiances to foreign gods.[22] Although Arnold's

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Devenish, *Demolishing Strongholds: Effective Strategies for Spiritual Warfare* (Milton Keynes: Word Publishing, 2000), 47; Arnold, *Spiritual Ware*, 174.

[16] Gen. 3.

[17] Job 1-2.

[18] 1 Chr. 21:1.

[19] Zec. 3:1-2.

[20] N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary* (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher Ltd, 1957), 42.

[21] Arnold, *Spiritual Ware*, 132-33.

[22] As presented in 1 & 2 Kings and 1 & 2 Chronicles. For example, 1 Kings 15:3 reads "He committed all the sins his father had done before him, his heart was not fully devoted to the Lord his God…." Arnold also sees in Jesus' ministry to the severely demonised boy in Mark 9:21 that "the spirits were passed on to him from some other source, the most likely of which would be his family." Thus there was

expositions are highly speculative, since there is nothing in the text to suggest generational curses,[23] they give the inquirer food for thought. In other words, beside the literal interpretation made from Exodus 20:5 by the proponents of "witchdemonology,"[24] ancestral curses may be inferred from other passages.

The OT indicates that the people of God may allow evil spirits to dominate and control their lives, when disobedience occurs. For example, 1 Samuel records that Saul was filled with the Holy Spirit and prophesied.[25] But later, the Spirit of God departed from him and on some occasions "an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him."[26] The suffering of Saul has been considered from different angles,[27] but from this evidence, it is clear that Saul had been invaded by what the author of 1 Samuel calls "an evil spirit" as a result of his sin of disobedience.[28] Saul had to be "exorcised" repeatedly by the playing of the harp by David.[29] Hertzberg argues that this was "a means elsewhere in such situations."[30] In other words, David's type of "exorcism," the playing of harp offered to Saul can be related to the singing and beating of drums among Akan exorcists, carried to "witchdemonology." Saul's case is a very probably an OT example

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a familiar spirit in the family which passed on the spirit to the boy. His reason is that Jesus finds out from the father that his son had been in that condition "from childhood." Arnold, *Spiritual Ware*, 133.

[23] Gray shows that an emphasis was put on the sins of the kings of Israel to bring out the seriousness of the sin of Jeroboam, "because of his violation of Deuteronomic principles [which is centred in the Temple in Jerusalem] in patronizing the cults at Dan and Bethel" (Gray, *1 & 11 Kings*, 11, 356-7, cf. James A. Montgomery, *The International Critical Commentary: Kings*, Henry Snyder Gehman, ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951), 44-5). Thus here the emphasis was not on a spirit passing on the sins of ancestors to future generation, but on the hardening of hearts of people who constantly violate the law of God.

[24] For discussion on the main texts used by proponents of ancestral curses, see Chapter Four section 4.2.2.

[25] 1 Sam. 10:6, 10.

[26] 1 Sam. 16:14, 23; see also 1 Sam. 18:10-11; 1 Sam. 19:9-10.

[27] For example it is considered psychologically as "depression" or "mental illness." See John Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel: New Century Bible* (London: Oliphants, 1971), 130-31; Hertzberg, *1 & 11 Samuel*, 140-41.

[28] Samuel had regarded the sin of disobedience as witchcraft (1 Sam. 15:23).

[29] 1 Sam.16:14-23.

of a believer in God being inhabited by what "witchdemonology" calls "demons," and then exorcised. [31]

The Akan concept of *abisa* (divinatory-consultation), which is prominent in contemporary "witchdemonology," has many direct and indirect parallels in the OT. In a way *abisa* is very similar to the underlying principle of the application of *Urim* and *Thummim* in the OT. Although the OT does not provide the method in which it was used, the finding was attributed to divine guidance.[32] Some scholars have suggested various derivations of the terms including Assyrian, Akkadian, Aramic, and Egyptian roots.[33] Although the etymology of the terms remains disputed by scholars,[34] it could be possible as Dam uncomfortably suggests that "God at some time before Moses had graciously accommodated to the weakness and limitations of his people by replacing the terapim[35] (cf. Gen.31:19, 30) with the Urim and Thummim."[36] This gives us the

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[30] Hertzberg, *1 & 11 Samuel*, 141.

[31] It is assumed however that since this took place before Pentecost, it is not possible in this age. For further discussion on this, see C. Fred Dickason, *Demon Possession and the Christian* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1987), 123, 127-38; Merrill F. Unger, *What Demons Can Do to Saints* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1977), 51-52.

[32] Huffmon has suggested that this was a type of divination which was carried out through the simple method of designated lots to determine appropriate answer for difficult situations. He further proposes that it was geared toward providing a result of "yes" or "no" to the inquiry. The writing of the Jewish historian Josephus implies that possibly a special miraculous light was somehow involved in the operation of the *Urim* and *Thummin* to prove that the message was from the Lord. H. B. Huffmon, "Priestly Divination in Israel," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth*, Carol L. Meyers and M. O. O'Conner, eds. (Winoma Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 355; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities in Ten Volumes, 111*, trans. Loius Feldman (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1965), 111. 8:9. See also Julius K. Muthengi, "The Art of Divination," *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 12, no. 2 (1993): 96, 89-104.

[33] For example, see N. H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1967), 65-67; C. Van Dam, "Urim and Thummim," in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia in Four Volumes, Volume Four: Q-Z*, Geoffrey Bromiley, General Editor (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 957-58; A. R. S. K. Kennedy, "Urim and Thummim," in *Dictionary of the Bible*, Second Edition (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963), 1019-20.

[34] Dam, "Urim and Thummim," 958; Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers*, 65-66; Kennedy, "Urim and Thummim," 1019.

[35] Terapim have been interpreted as characterised by flashing and shinning. They were made alongside an illegitimate ephod by Micah in Judges 17:5. See also Hosea 3:4 where terapim were mentioned as

indication that the practices of other religions can be "sanctified" and used by the "people of God."

There are some passages which show either direct or indirect reference to the use of *Urim* and *Thummim*.[37] The methods used in some of these cases, for example, in the diagnostic cases in Joshua 7:16-19[38] and 1 Samuel 10:23-26[39] have some parallels to the methods adopted by proponents of "witchdemonology" and also various forms of exorcism in Akan culture.[40] The casting of lots[41] and the use of fleeces by Gideon[42] are both similar to *abisa* in the sense that they are used to guide the inquirers to make important decisions.

Some passages in the OT show some similarities between divination and prophecy, and these also have the underlying fundamental principle of *abisa*. The first of these passages are the texts which juxtapose prophecy and divination.[43] The second are those

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absent in Israel. It was held that terapim were used before God called Moses and that after God had directed Moses to make the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the use of terapim was condemned (1 Sam.15:23; 2 Kgs. 23:24; Eze. 21:21; Zec. 10:2). See Dam, "Urim and Thummim," 958.

[36] Dam, "Urim and Thummim," 959.

[37] These include Exo. 28:30; Lev. 8:8; Num. 27:21; Jos. 7:16-19; Jug. 20:18-46; 1 Sam.10:17-24; 1 Sam. 14:23-46; 1 Sam. 23:4-6; 1Sam.7-8.

[38] This is the area where lots were cast to find out the person who had sinned to cause the defeat of Israel before Ai. The lot fell on Achan.

[39] This is the place where Samuel summoned all the people of Israel with the aim to choose a king for them. Through some "rituals" the tribe of Benjamin was chosen, and finally Saul was chosen.

[40] See Chapter Two sections 2.5 and 3.5.

[41] The casting of lots was used for the apportion of the land of Canaan (Num. 26:55), and also was the specified method for the two goats on the Day of Atonement, one for God and one for Azazel (Lev.16:8). It is assumed that the same principle of lot was operative in the *Urim* and *Thummim*. Unger, *Biblical Demonology*, 129.

[42] Jud. 6:36-40 .

[43] One of such passages is Deuteronomy 18:9-22. Here "a prophet like me [Moses]" is placed side by side with diviners. On the one hand, the Lords speaks through his prophets and, on other the hand, the diviners speak presumptuously or through other forbidden means. Another passage is Isaiah 44:25-26. Here the ineffective predictions of diviners are contrasted with the effective functions of the prophets of God. Muthengi, "The Art of Divination," 97.

which present the impression that prophecy is an aspect of divination, and divination is an aspect of prophecy.[44] The implication is that both of them attempt to obtain information from "divine sources" and relate them to inquirers; this is *abisa* from Akan perspective.

The use of dreams in the OT as legitimate means of carrying God's message to his people may be considered an aspect of *abisa* in the OT. For example, they are used in the prediction of future events,[45] to give specific directives,[46] to warn of dangers ahead[47] and a reminder of God's faithfulness or promises.[48] Often it is the prophet or his equivalent who is consulted for its interpretation.[49] Thus in the OT dreams become windows to communicate concealed messages, as the Akan people expect from *abisa*.

In light of this discussion, the question that needs to be asked is whether or not the OT sanctions *abisa*. On the one hand, the OT denounces *abisa* and places it in the same category as sorcery, consulting mediums, wizardry, and necromancy.[50] On the other hand, a deeper look into the situation shows that it is not the act of *abisa* or even the methods used that the Lord denounces, but rather the sources of the "diviner." A number of texts indicate that the Lord rather requests his people to inquire from him

[44] E.g. Jer. 14:13-14; 26:9-10; Eze.13:1-9; Mic. 3:5-7, 11.
[45] E.g. Gen. 37:5-11; 2 Sam.7:4-17; Dan.2:1-48; Dan. 5:18-37.
[46] E.g. Gen.31:24.
[47] E.g. Gen. 41.
[48] E.g. Gen. 15:1-16; 1 Kgs.9:2-9 .
[49] E.g. Gen. 41:8; Dan. 2:1-4, 27; Dan.4:18. See also Unger, *Biblical Demonology*, 127-29; Russ Parker, *Healing Dreams: Their Power and Purpose in Your Life*, 1988, New Edition (London: SPCK, 1996), 86-98.
[50] Deut. 18:14; Lev. 19:31; Lev. 20:6, 27 cf. 2 Kgs. 21:6; 2 Chr.33:6; 1 Chr. 10:13.

instead of other sources.[51] For example, Ahab was asked by Elijah, "is it because there is no God in Israel that you consult Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron?"[52] Furthermore, the diviner Balaam, who was not an Israelite, might have used his own methods, and was able to receive oracles from the Lord when he appealed to him as his source of *abisa*.[53] Unger argues that "Balaam's case is ostensibly altogether unique and special."[54] That Unger's argument is weak is shown in the fact that in the New Testament (NT),[55] at the birth of Jesus, the first to visit were the Magi from the east, who had seen "his star in the east."[56] The implication is that God had revealed the birth of the Messiah to these non Israelites, according to the way they could understand it, a form of astrology. These incidents give indications of the Holy Spirit's presence and activity in other religions.[57] From this perspective, then, it can be summarised that God requires to remain the only legitimate source of *abisa*. Though he expects inquirers to use his prescribed methods, he answers people who appeal to him with their limited knowledge of his divine revelation. The Bible has several ambiguous references about *abisa*, possibly to allow people to deduce their own meanings from them.

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[51] E.g. Is. 8:19-20; 1 Chr. 10:13-14.

[52] 2 Kgs. 1:3. Hobbs, for example, points out that "the points in these stories is to demonstrate that only in Israel is the true God to be found." In other words the true God should be your consultant. T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings: Word Biblical Commentary*, David A. Hubbard, W. Glenn Barker, and D. W. John Watts, eds. (Waco -Texas: Word Books, 1985), 9.

[53] Num.22:10-39; 23:1-29;24:1-25.

[54] Unger, *Biblical Demonology*, 126.

[55] The abbreviation "NT" is used throughout the thesis to mean the "New Testament."

[56] Matt. 2:1-2. Unger's claim can again be objected to in that if God treated Balaam as special why cannot he treat others as special with their limited revelations of him.

[57] For an excellent attempt, from a Pentecostal/Charismatic's perspective, to construct a Christian theology of religions, see, Amos Yong, *Discerning the Spirit (s): A Pentecostal-Charismatic Contribution to Christian Theology of Religions* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). See also Paul Knitter, "A New Pentecost? A Pneumatological Theology of Religions," *Current Dialogue* 19 (1991): 34-41; John Hick, *An Interpretation of Religion: Human Responses to the Transcendent* (New Haven: Yale University, 1989); Hans Küng, "What is True Religion? Toward an Ecumenical Criteriology," in *Toward a Universal Theology of Religion*, Leonard Swidler, ed. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1987), 231-50; George Khodr, "Christianity in a Pluralistic World--The Economy of the Holy Spirit," *Ecumenical Review* 23 (1971): 118-28.

1.2 The Synoptic Gospels

The word "witch" is not found in the Synoptic Gospels, yet like the proponents of "witchdemonology," Jesus' encounters with the demoniacs[58] show that there is still the belief in the reality of human beings who are thought to be spiritually powerful.[59] Demoniacs are shown as people who are well settled and involved in the life of their communities[60]or driven to the margins of society by their families as a result of their behaviour.[61] Jeremias argues from Luke 8:26-37 that the Gadarene demoniac might have had a traumatic experience in childhood about the soldiery which led to his insanity, hence Mark developed the embellishment of the story with the detail about the 2,000 swine.[62] But from the contexts, Marshall rightly contends that his explanation is unconvincing, rather the narrative shows that possession was thought of as being single or multiple as also in Luke 8:2.[63] Again, demoniacs are believed to have some sort of supernatural knowledge, as Davies and Allison put it, "they know the true identity of Jesus without being told."[64] Consequently, although the Synoptics do not label these people "witches," the descriptions come close to what the Akan consider as witchcraft.

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[58] The terms "demoniac(s)," "demonised," "demon-possessed" or "demon possession" are used to represent the Greek terms *daimonizomai* and *echein daimonion* in the gospels. These denote a person who is being "possessed by a demon." William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, eds. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 168.

[59] E.g. Mk 1:21-28; Lk. 8:26-37.

[60] E.g. Mk. 1:21-28.

[61] E.g. Lk. 8: 26-37. This means the identity of such persons, with regard to their possession of demons, may be known or unknown (e.g. Mk. 1:21-28; 9:14-29). From Mark 1:21-28, it follows that it is also believed that demoniacs may reveal their identity when they are confronted by a much more powerful person.

[62] Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, 30.

[63] I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Paternoster, 1992), 339; E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke: New Century Bible*, H. H. Rowley and Matthew Black, eds. (London: Nelson, 1966), 131.

[64] E.g. Mk. 1:24; Luke 8:28; Matt. 8:29. W. D. Davies and Dale Allison jr., *The International Critical Commentary: The Gospel According to Saint Matthew Volume 11 (VIII-XVIII)*, 1991, J. A. Emerson, C. E. B. Cranfield and G. N. Stanton, eds. Latest Impression (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 81.

The reference to Satan, his kingdom and allied spirits, and their opposition to the people of God are clearer in the Synoptics[65] than the OT.[66] This makes it relevant to the Akan concept of the works of evil powers. For example, Satan is initially presented as the tempter of the Son of God, [67] and as Marshall remarks, with the "attempt to deflect Jesus … from the fulfilment of the messianic task laid upon him by God,"[68] and he continues to oppose him.[69] The parable of the sower depicts Satan as an outside power who acts malevolently on some seeds.[70] In the parable of the weeds, he is portrayed as the enemy who is able to sow bad seeds in "the middle of the wheat."[71] The descriptions of Jesus' encounter with the demoniacs show that demons are the cause of human predicaments.[72] Notably, a woman of good standing before God, addressed as "a daughter of Abraham," is kept bound by Satan."[73] Thus the Synoptics attribute the causes of mishaps to satanic powers in a way which is similar to those of the Akan.

[65] In fact in the whole of the New Testament.
[66] He is called Satan (Matt. 4:10), the devil (Matt. 13:25, 39), the adversary or enemy (Matt.13:25, 39; Lk. 10:39).
[67] Mk. 1: 12-13; Matt. 41-13; Lk. 4:1-13.
[68] Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 166.
[69] Lk. 22:3 Matt. 16:23.
[70] This is inferred in terms such as "devouring birds" and "burning sun" (Matt. 13:19; Mk. 4:15). Cf. Frederick. D. Bruner, *Matthew, Vol. 2* (London: Word, 1990), 489.
[71] Matt. 13:25, 38. This phrase also may imply that Satan's work can be done in the midst of the church. Bruner, *Matthew*, 497.
[72] For example, some demoniacs are shown as being tormented and hurt by the inhabiting demons (E.g. Lk. 4:35; Mk. 5:1-19). Others are physically ill because of their demonisation (E.g. Lk. 8:26-37; Matt. 15: 21-28; Mk. 9:14-29). Particularly, madness and epilepsy are associated with demon possession (E.g. Mk. 5:1-19; Matt. 17:14-20).
[73] Lk. 13:16 . For excellent discussions on the woman with a spirit of infirmity, see John Wilkinson, *The Bible and Healing: A Medical and Theological Commentary* (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1998), 131-41; John Wilkinson, "The Case of the Bent Woman," *Evangelical Quarterly* 49 (1977): 195-205; Keith Warrington, *Jesus the Healer: Paradigm or Unique Phenomena* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 114, 119-38; John Christopher Thomas, *The Devil, Disease and Deliverance: Origins of Illness in the New Testament Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 221-26; Sydney H. T. Page, *Powers of Evil: A Biblical Study of Satan & Demons* (Leicester: Baker Book House, 1995), 118-21; Richard

The Synoptics hint that there are degrees of strength among evil powers. For example, some scholars such as Hendriksen and Dickson have seen in Jesus' response to the disciples' question after the healing of the epileptic boy, "this kind cannot come out by anything but by prayer,"[74] a suggestion that there are different kinds of spirits.[75] There has been an objection to this interpretation; Gould, for example suggests that the phrase "this kind" in Mark 9:29 means "the genus of evil spirit," but not "this kind of spirit."[76] But Gould's point is not intelligible.[77] Other passages in the synoptic gospels also suggest there are degrees of strength among evil powers.[78] These found some parallels in the Akan concept of the extent and degree of works of evil powers.

The detailed accounts of Jesus' confrontation with demoniacs[79] and several summaries of his ministry[80] indicate that exorcism was an integral part of his work.[81] The purposes

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Chenevix Trench, *Notes on the Miracles of Our Lord*, 1949, Popular Edition (fifteenth Printing) (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992), 207-12.

[74] E.g. Mk. 9:29; Matt. 17:21.

[75] William Hendriksen, *The Gospel of Mark* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1975), 352; D. Dickson, *Matthew* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1981), 239.

[76] S. T. D. Gould, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel of Mark* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1982), 171.

[77] From the context, most NT scholars like Lanes still contends that Jesus' answer clearly indicate that "such malign evil spirits can be expelled only by …the unlimited power of God expelled through prayer." William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark*, F. F. Bruce, ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974), 335; cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St Mark: The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary*, 1959, C. F. D. Moule, ed. Reprinted with Supplementary notes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 304-05; Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark: The Greek Text* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1952), 401.

[78] For example, statements from the Beelzebub controversy such as, "this man casts out demons only by the ruler of demons" (Matt. 12:24) and "if I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out?" (Matt 12:27) imply some sort of differentiation of power within the spirit world. Moreover, the implication of Jesus' answer, "if Satan cast out Satan..." (Matt. 12:26) is that Satan is the Beelzebub (the ruler of demons) referred to in verse 24. Again, the parable in Mathew 12:43-45, regarding the possibility of a demon returning to its former abode with "seven other spirits more wicked than itself" implies that there are degrees of strength among evil spirits. For an interesting article on the kind of exorcists in the Beelzebub controversy see, Robert Shirock, "Whose Exorcists Are They?" *Journal of Study of the New Testament* 46 (1992): 41-51

[79] The four main narratives of Jesus' exorcisms are Mk. 1: 21-28 par Lk. 4:31-37; Matt. 8:28-34 par Mk. 5:1-17, Lk. 8:26-37; Matt. 15: 21-28 par Mk. 7:24-30; Mk. 9:14-29 par Matt. 17:14-19, Lk. 9:37-45).

of the exorcisms of Jesus as presented by the authors of the Synoptics often tally with those of the proponents of "witchdemonology." Through exegetical studies of the appropriate passages, the NT scholar Keith Warrington has clearly brought out the purposes of Jesus' healing and exorcisms.[82] These include the authority of Jesus,[83] the mission of Jesus,[84] and opportunities to believe[85] and opportunities to teach.[86] Yet Warrington concludes that:

> To study the healing and exorcism of Jesus as if they were resources for practical involvement in healing and exorcistic ministry is to a large degree inappropriate, unless the uniqueness of the ministry of Jesus is first recognized…. However, his healing powers are to be recognized as signposts to him and not to a more successful ministry.[87]

Warrington's conclusion is important in the sense that many have caused chaotic conditions and other have ruined their ministries in the attempt to assume a direct link between Jesus' ministry and theirs.[88] However, by such a conclusion Warrington has driven a wedge between Jesus' healing and exorcistic ministry and that of his disciples

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[80]These include brief reports of exorcisms by Jesus (e.g. Matt. 9:32-34; 12:22), a brief report of the disciples' mission (Lk. 10:17), a number of references and sayings on Jesus' dealings with demons (Mk. 1:32-34, 39; 3:7-12 and par.) and the accusation of Jesus as demon possessed (Matt. 12:22-28 and par.)

[81] The accounts are quite varied, as also in "witchdemonology." For example, Jesus personally confronts the demoniacs in some of the narratives (E.g. Lk 8:26-37 Lk. 11:10-17). In others, the demons manifest their presence by their conduct (Mk. 1: 21-28 par Lk. 4:31-37) or through debilitating illnesses (E.g. Lk. 9:37 cf. Lk.13:1-17). Still in others, Jesus responds to a request by a parent or others (E.g. Mk. 9:14-29; Matt. 12:22) See Robert A. Guelich, "Spiritual Warfare: Jesus, Paul and Peretti," *PNEUMA* 13, no. 1 (1991): 39-41.

[82] Warrington, *Jesus the Healer,* 1-29.

[83] Matt. 8:16-17; 8:28-34 and par.; Matt. 9:32-34; Matt. 12:22-29 and par. Matt. 15:21-28; Matt.17: 14-21and par.; Mk. 1:23-28 and par.; Mk. 1:39; Mk.9:38-41 and par.

[84] The reinstatement of the outcast (E.g. Matt. 8:2-4 and par. Matt. 9:20-22 and par. Matt. 15:21-28 and par.; Lk. 7:11-17; Lk. 13:10-17; Lk. 17:11-19. The initiation of the Kingdom (e.g. Matt. 4:23-25; Matt. 9:35; Matt. 10:1, 8 and par. Matt. 11:4 and par. Matt. 12:22-29 and par. Mk. 7:31-37 and par.

[85] E.g. Matt. 12:12-29 and par. Lk. 13:10-17.

[86] To teach about faith (e.g. Matt. 8:5-13 and par.; Matt. 17:14-21). To teach about obedience (Matt. 7:21-23; Matt. 8:2-4 and par. Matt. 12:12:43-45 and par.).

[87] Warrington, *Jesus the Healer,* 29. See also 129.

[88] For instance, this is shown in some of the scandals that have gone on among some of the TV evangelists. See Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the of Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), 274, 312-313.

and the Church. This is something which Jesus does not intend to do as he delegates his power to the disciples.[89] Moreover, since the evangelists' use of the exorcism carried out by Jesus communicated their message to their audience, so also the Akan worldview which relates closely to the NT times gives contemporary Akan exorcistic ministry meaning and relevance. By such an approach they contextualise their messages to their own people.

The way in which Jesus understands his exorcisms, as deduced from the collection of sayings often referred to as the "Beelzebub Controversy,"[90] sometimes coincides with the purposes of exorcism by some of the proponents of "witchdemonology."[91] For example, in Matthew 12:28[92] Jesus sees his exorcisms as the sign of the kingdom of God being inaugurated and thus clashing with, and visibly breaking into the kingdom of Satan. In the parable of the strongman Jesus sees his exorcisms as the defeat of Satan.[93] This parable further reveals that Jesus sees his exorcisms as the demonstration of the "Spirit of God."[94] In this regard, Dunn and Twelftree rightly maintain that "Jesus sees his exorcisms not so much as cures of some merely physical ailment or mental illness, but as the wresting of particular individuals and personalities from the grip or the dominating influence of Satan."[95] This purpose of delivering people from satanic control also underlies the activities of some of the proponents of "witchdemonology."

[89] Matt. 10:14-19; Lk. 9:1; Lk. 10:1 cf.10:10:17-18; Mk. 16:17. For Mark one of the main reasons for Jesus' call of the twelve was for them to have authority to cast out demons (Mk. 3:15).
[90] Mk 3:22-27; Matt. 9:32-34; Matt12;22-30; Lk 11:14-23.
[91] Graham H. Twelftree, "The Place of Exorcism in Contemporary Ministry," *St Mark's Review* 127 (1986): 79, 25-39.
[92] Cf.Mk.3:27; Lk. 7:21-22.
[93] E.g Mk. 3:23-29; Lk.10:28.
[94] Lk 11:20; Matt.12: 28.
[95] Dunn and Twelftree, "Demon-Possession and Exorcism," 219.

Jesus' methods of dealing with demoniacs have some parallels at some points in the "techniques" or "rituals" of exorcisms used in "witchdemonology." Examples of these are the words of command to cast out demons,[96] and preventive measures, as evidenced in the command to demons not to return to the persons.[97] Again, a parallel is shown in Jesus' attempt to know the name of a demon when initial attempts to exorcise seemed to have been delayed, as in the Gadarene demoniac.[98] A parallel is also found in the demons' plea during Jesus' encounter with them.[99] The confrontation and violence that the demoniacs sometimes go through in the Synoptics have similarities to manifestations during exorcisms in "witchdemonology."[100]

1.3 Johannine Literature

There are no accounts of exorcisms in Johannine literature yet the devil is very active. All of the references to the devil relate directly or indirectly to the death of Jesus.[101] For example, the Pharisees want to kill Jesus because they want to fulfil the desire of their father, the devil.[102] In 1 John 2: 13-14, Satan has not yet been rendered inactive, but believers "may share in the victory won by his conqueror."[103] The biblical scholar Page concludes that "John's portrayal of Satan focuses exclusively on his [Satan's]

[96] E.g. Mk. 1:25, Lk.4: 35; Mk 5:8; Lk.8:29; Matt.8:32; Mk. 9:25; Matt. 17:18; Lk. 9:42.
[97] Mk. 9:25, cf. Matt. 12: 43-45; Lk. 11:24-26.
[98] Mk. 5:7-8; Lk. 8:28-29.
[99] Mk. 1:24; Mk. 5:10-11.
[100] E.g. Mk. 1:23, 26; Mk. 5:6-7, 11-13, Lk. 9:42-43. For reading on Jesus' methods on exorcism, see Wilkinson, *The Bible and Healing*, 105-06; Graham H. Twelftree, *Christ Triumphant: Exorcism Then and Now* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), 59-72,182-187.
[101] Jn. 6:70; 8:44; 12:31; 13:2, 27; 14:30; 16:11; 17:15.
[102] Jn. 8:40, 44.
[103] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 130. Similarly in Revelation 12:10-11, the believers overcame their accuser "by the blood of the Lamb."

involvement in the suffering and death of Jesus."[104] Thus John sees Satan as the originator of evil; this is similar to the Akan concept.

Some passages in the gospel of John denote that Judas, the onetime apostle of Jesus, was "possessed by the devil." For example, John records that the devil puts the thought of betrayal "into the heart of Judas,"[105] again he writes, "Satan entered into him."[106] Bultmann, for example, feels the presupposition behind these expressions is "the idea of possession by the demonic spirits," which he recognises is widespread in both Jewish and Gentile beliefs.[107] Thus from Johannine literature, Akan Pentecostals may see the possibility of a Christian being possessed by demons.

1.4 The Acts of the Apostles

The opposing work of Satan[108] and his cohort receive special attention in Acts, although like the gospels the term "witch" is not used. For example, the disciples confront spiritually powerful individuals and overcome them,[109] as also claimed by proponents of "witchdemonology." Satan is able to fill the heart of believers with evil intent that lead to misfortune—death. Peter speaks to Ananias "how is it that Satan has so filled your heart that you have lied against the Holy Spirit?"[110] Barrett argues from this verse that

[104] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 128.
[105] Jn. 13:2. Here the Authorised Version and the New American Standard Version both follow the literal translation of the Greek. See Alfred Marshall, *The NASB Interlinear Greek English New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Regency, 1984), 423.
[106] Jn 13:27.
[107] Rudolf Karl Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray, R. W. N. Hoare and J. K. Riches, eds. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 482.
[108] Satan is directly mentioned in four places (Acts 5:3; 10:38; 13:10; 26:18).
[109] Three examples are clear here. These are Peter's confrontation with Simon (Acts 8:9-23), Paul's confrontation with Elymas (Acts 13:4-12) and Paul's confrontation with girl with familiar spirit (Acts 16:16-21).
[110] Acts 5:3.

the telling of the lie "expresses the result of Satan's filling Ananias heart."[111] There is a clear indication here of Satanic influence, if not possession, which led to Ananias telling lie with the aim of self-glorification. This found ground in the Akan concept of satanic domination of people, which leads to evil behaviour.

Although Acts relates only one detailed successful exorcism,[112] there are summary accounts of the apostles' ministry of exorcism,[113] which according to Page signifies that "exorcism figured prominently, after his crucifixion."[114] Like the Synoptics, Acts shows that the "demoniacs" have supernatural knowledge.[115] Thus the Akan Pentecostal concept of exorcistic beliefs have some parallels in Acts.

1.5 Pauline and other New Testaments Epistles

The opposing work of Satan and evil power continues to play a significant role in the rest of the NT.[116] Satan is portrayed as living up to his name as "adversary"; for example, he tempts, misleads, torments, traps, hinders and deceives Christians.[117] Paul himself "was given a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to torment me."[118] The

[111] C. K. Barrett, *Acts: The International Critical Commentary*, 1994, J. A. Emerson, C. E. B. Cranfield and G. N. Stanton, eds. Latest Impression (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 266.
[112] This is the account between Paul and the slave girl who had the spirit of divination (Acts 16:16-18). There is one unsuccessful exorcism by the seven sons of Sceva (Acts 19:13-17).
[113] Acts 5:16; 8:5-8; 19:12.
[114] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 174.
[115] This is conveyed in the confrontation between "the man who had an evil spirit" and the seven sons of Sceva (Acts 19:13-16), because they claim to know Paul and Jesus but not the pretenders. Again it is shown in Paul's confrontation with the slave girl who had the spirit of divination, the girl shouts, "These men are the servants of the most high God…" (Acts 16:18).
[116] Satan is mentioned in the rest of the New Testament books, except Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, Titus, Philemon and 2 Peter. The names given to him include Satan (Rom. 16:20), the devil (1 Pet. 5:8; the serpent (2 Cor. 11:3), the evil one (Eph. 6:16) and the god of this age (2 Cor. 4:4).
[117] 1 Thes. 3:5; 1 Cor. 7:5; 1 Tim. 5:15; 2 Cor. 12:7; 1Thes. 2:18; 2 Cor 11:14.
[118] 2 Cor. 12:7. For current works on Paul's thorn in the flesh, see Thomas, *The Devil, Disease and Deliverance*, 62-73; Wilkinson, *The Bible and Healing*, 195-235.

writings of other NT authors also show that evil stems from the devil who seeks constantly to devour Christians and thwart the will of God.[119] The proponents of "witchdemonology" see these as the examples of the work of evil powers in the epistles.

Paul's terminology of "principalities and powers"[120] indicates an unexplained complexity of the spirit world, which hints about territorial powers in "witchdemonology." Sanday and Headlam argue from Romans 8:38 that "these spirits are ranged in a certain hierarchy to which the current names are given."[121] In addition, the use of the term "archangel" by Paul and Jude implies some degree of angelic hierarchy among the angels of God. [122]

The epistles do not mention any encounter with demoniacs or witches. In Galatians 5:9 however, the word witchcraft was listed among the works of the flesh. Here also biblical scholars have shown that the Greek term *pharmakeia* translated "witchcraft" is the common Greek word for "sorcery."[123] Thus the word can either be considered as

[119] 1 Pet.5:8-9; Jam. 4:7-10; 1 Jn. 5:18; Rev. 12:9.
[120] E. g. Eph. 6:12. Rom. 8:38; 1 Cor. 15:24.
[121] William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *Romans: The International Critical Commentary*, 1895, J. A. Emerson, C. E. B. Cranfield and G. N. Stanton, eds. Fifth Edition (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1968), 223. Commenting on Ephesians 6:12-13, Lincoln argues that some Gentiles gods "are called world rulers, and the use of the term for evil spirit here may indicate that the writer shares the view … in 1 Cor 10:20 that pagan gods are closely linked with demons." The point here is that if "pagans" classify their gods into hierarchies and Paul uses their terminology here, it is quite possible that such classification may underlie Paul's concept. See Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians: World Biblical Commentary*, David A. Hubbard, Glenn W. Barker and Ralph P. Martin, eds. (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 444; cf. Markus Barth, *Ephesians: Translation and Commentary on 4-6*, David Noel Freeman and William Foxwell Albright, eds. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1986), 764.
[122] 1 Thes. 4:16; Jude 1:9.
[123] The more literal translation is said to denote "the act of administering drugs, and then the giving of magical potion." Unger, *Biblical Demonology*, 154; Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapid: Eerdmans Publishing, 1988), 258. Vine indicates that the English word "pharmacy" originates from the Greek term; William E. Vine, *An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words* (London: Oliphants, 1953), 3:51-52.

"witchcraft" or "sorcery."[124] Paul also uses the word "demon" from the OT background, as a polemic against idolatry, indicating that those who worship idols are actually worshipping demons.[125] Thus, although the foci of the authors of the epistles are different, it can still be deduced from their writings that there is the simple belief in some people who are considered spiritually powerful, as also believed by the Akan Pentecostals.

The epistles do not directly mention the demonisation of Christians;[126] however, several passages warn about the influence of false teachers to the extent that indicate that Christians stand in real danger of being tempted, falling and being controlled by demons, if they are not careful to remain completely in the faith.[127]

Some Christian ministers (and scholars) also see "demonisation" of Christians[128] in Ephesians 4:27.[129] Dwelling upon the translation of the Greek word *topos* as inhabiting place, Arnold proposes that Ephesians 4:27 is the "closest to the language of

[124] Although as shown in Chapter Two sections 2.5, 3.1 and 3.2, the Akan distinguish between witchcraft and sorcery, the idea here is that there is the belief that some individual possess some sort of "spiritual power."
[125] 1 Cor. 10:20 cf. 1 Cor. 8:4. In 1 Timothy 4:1 he speaks about "the doctrine of demons." There is a similar assumption by the author of Revelation in 9:20. See James D. G. Dunn and Graham H. Twelftree, "Demon-Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament," *Churchman* 94, no. 3 (1980): 218, 210-26.
[126] For details study of demon possession and Christian see Dickason, *Demon Possession*; Unger, *What Demons Can Do to Saints*; Murphy, *The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare*, 429-37; Charles H. Kraft, *Defeating the Dark Angels* (Kent: Sovereign World, 1993), 61-78; David Powlison, *Power Encounters: Reclaiming Spiritual Warfare* (Grand Rapid: Baker Books, 1995), 27-38, 121-36; Arnold, *Spiritual Ware*, 73-160.
[127] 1 Cor 11:2-4, 13-15; 1 Tim.4:1; 1 Tim3:6-7; 2 Tim. 2:25-26;2 Pet. 2:1-22..
[128] For example, see ED Murphy, *The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare*, 1992, Revised and Updated Edition (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1996), 432; Vito Rallo, *Breaking Generational Curses & Pulling Down Strongholds* (Lake Mary: Creation House Press, 2000), 1-2. Cf. Dickason, *Demon Possession*, 107-08.
[129] Ephesians 4:27 reads, "and do not give the devil a foothold."

demonization" of Christians in the NT.[130] Yet it is difficult to come to the conclusion regarding the demonisation of Christians from this text, since there is no specific evidence that this is the case in the passage. Lincoln, for example, contends that "the writer thinks in terms of a personal power of evil, which is pictured as lurking around angry people ready to exploit the situation."[131] Accordingly, the verse may best be considered a representation of several passages in the epistles, which speak of the devil taking advantages of Christians as the result of some sins in their lives.[132] What is clear from this verse and the other passages is that Paul and other NT writers deal with the reality of evil, of human beings enslaved by powers hostile to God, which the proponents of "witchdemonology" term as demonisation.

The other NT epistles do not give specific cases of exorcism, yet, as Dunn and Twelftree rightly assume, exorcism may be included in such passages which mention signs and miracles as in Romans 15:19; 1 Corinthians 12:9 and Hebrews 2:4.[133]

The discussions thus far show that generally the Bible is clear about a being, sometimes called Satan who presides over a "kingdom" and teams up with other spirits who oppose God and his people. These spirits are presented as totally evil, having no good intentions, and are the sources of peoples' suffering. The Bible indicates a degree of inexplicable complexity in the spirit world which is somehow similar to contemporary

[130] Arnold, *Spiritual Ware*, 92.
[130] Arnold, *Spiritual Ware*, 92.
[131] See Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 303.
[132] For example, Rom.6:12;Cor. 2:9; 1 Cor. 6:9; Gal.4:9; Col. 2:8; Col. 3:5-10; Jam 3:9-15; 1 Pet.5:8.
[133] Dunn and Twelftree, "Demon-Possession and Exorcism," 223.

"witchdemonology." *Abisa* which is absolutely essential in Akan religiosity appears to underlie some biblical concepts, especially the use of *Urim* and *Thummim* in the OT.

In the Bible, there is also the belief of human beings who are considered "spiritually powerful" as a result of their relations with the evil powers. The Bible descriptions of some issues appear as if demons had invaded the lives of believers like what proponents of "witchdemonology" claim as demon possession, although there are no clear indications that those people were indeed demon possessed. Exorcism is found to be an integral aspect of the ministry of Jesus, and there are indications that the apostles continue this ministry. Consequently "witchdemonology" has some similarities in the Bible.

2 "WITCHDEMONOLOGY" AND THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH TRADITIONS

2.1 Early Hellenistic Church

In the search for identity for African Christianity, the African Theologian Kwame Bediako has postulated that, "the phase of Christian history which offers the most instructive parallels to the modern African context is the beginning of Hellenistic Christianity in the early Roman Empire."[134] Accordingly, an examination of some of the writings of leaders of the Early Church shows that there are remarkably close parallels to contemporary "witchdemonology."

[134] Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992), 7.

Just like the deliverance ministry, the Hellenistic Church saw the Graeco-Roman religion as the abode of the fallen angels, which they considered demons.[135] From this backdrop, the Hellenistic Church felt the need for every new convert to go through exorcism. For example, Kelly points to the fact that Tertullian asked the question, "what man is there to whom an evil spirit does not adhere, even at the gates of his birth, waiting to ensnare his soul?"[136] The author of Pseudo-Clement, who might be a Christian leader also writes, "everyone who has at the time worshipped idols and has adored those whom the pagan call the gods, or has eaten of the things sacrificed to them, is not without an unclean spirit; for he has become a guest of demons…."[137] Consequently when someone became a Christian, the person had to renounce everything that had to do with the Graeco-Roman religion and as such the Hellenistic culture and had to accept "the truth of the Christian apprehension of God as a radical alternative."[138] The words of the renunciation itself has some parallels to the current one done by deliverance proponents. For example, the Apostolic Tradition 21:9 reads " I renounce you Satan and all thy service and thy works."[139]

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[135] For example, these are found in the writings of the leaders such as Justin Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. See Justin Martyr, *The Fathers of the Church: Writings of Justin Martyr*, 1948, trans. Thomas B. Falls (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977), Dialogue with Trypho:79; Tatian *Oratio Ad Graecos and Fragments*, trans. Molly Whittaker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), Oration Ad Graecos 7-10; Clement of Alexandria, *The Exhortation to the Greeks, The Rich Man's Salvation and the Fragments of an Address Entitled to the Newly Baptized*, trans. G. W. Butterworth (London: William Heinemann, MCMXIX), Chapter III; Tertullian, *The Church Fathers: Tertullian Apologetical Works and Minucius Felix Octavius*, trans. Rudolph Arbesmann, Emily Joseph Daly and Edwin A. Quain (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of American Press, 1950), Apology 23. Tertullian Apology 23 is of interest here, for example 23:4 reads "Let there be produced right here before your tribunals someone who, it is well known, is beset by an evil spirit. If any Christian bids the spirit to speak, the same will confess that he is a devil, just as truly as elsewhere he will falsely proclaim himself a god."

[136] Tertullian, *De pudicitia* 19.19-20 as cited in Henry A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology and Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 107.

[137] Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitions* 2.71 as cited in Kelly *The Devil at Baptism*, 124.

[138] Bediako, *Theology and Identity*, 72.

[139] *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus: Translated Into English with Introduction and Notes by Burton Scott Easton* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1934).

The strong belief among proponents of deliverance that a Christian can be demonised has some parallels to the Early Christians in some accounts. For example, the Apostolic Canon[140] reads, "If anyone hath a demon, let him not be made one of the clergy. No, let him not pray with the faithful; but when he is cleansed, let him be received; and if he be worthy, let him be ordained."[141] There is a clear indication here that it was believed that Christians could be possessed with demons, since the criteria for consideration of entry into the clergy included a demonised person who had been delivered. Hermas, writing at the beginning of the second century, contends that no matter how hard Christians try, "the Devil is harsh and lords it over them."[142] For those whom Hermas describes as "half-empty"[143] according to him, the devil finds a place in them, that is, they become demonised.[144]

The ministration of exorcism in the Hellenistic Church progressively grew to become a specialty, as it is currently taking place in CoP. The writings of both Justin and Tertullian show that initially every Christian was thought capable of performing

[140] The Apostolic Canon forms the concluding chapter of the Apostolic Constitution. The Apostolic Constitution is a collection of Church practices and regulation from Syria around AD300.
[141] The Apostolical Constitutions, *Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325 Vol. XVII: The Clementine Homilies and The Apostolical Constitutions*, Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1870), 8:47:79. See also *Saint Cyprian Letters (1-81)*, trans. Rose Bernard Donna (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 68:15, 75:11-12.
[142] Shepherd of Hermas, *The Fathers of the Church: Shepherd of Hermas*, 1948, trans. Joseph M. F. Marique, Roy Joseph Editorial Director Emeritus Deferrari, eds. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1969), 11:5:2.
[143] *Shepherd of Hermas*, 5:3 .
[144] "The Devil comes and tempts all the servants of God. Those who are strong in the faith resist him and he goes away from them, because he cannot find entrance. So, he goes then to the empty and, finding an entrance, he goes into them. Thus he accomplishes in them whatever he pleases and makes them his slaves."*Shepherd of Hermas*, 5:4.

exorcism.[145] The exorcism of new converts was, however, performed by the bishops just before baptism "so that he may personally be assured of their purity."[146] Yet, in the course of time, it seems apparent that the ministration of exorcism became a ministry for the specially gifted people. For example, Eusebius refers to a Roman bishop called Cornelius in AD 250 who says that there were fifty-two exorcists serving the Church at the time.[147]

The writings of the Hellenistic leaders also show that sometimes the exorcisms were confrontational and violent, yet just as some clients are left without release among the current deliverance ministries, so were some people left without freedom. Minucius Felix writes, perhaps in the third century, to describe how demons tear people's bodies through "the torture of exorcism and the fervor of prayer."[148] Yet his description shows that sometimes they left their victims reluctantly in misery, "for they quake with pitiable fear in those bodies" and "used to run away from Christians to a safe distance."[149]

Fasting which is a major factor in "witchdemonology" also features prominently in the Hellenistic Church. For instance, fasting was imposed on those seeking spiritual guidance,[150] new converts seeking exorcism[151] and the sick.[152] It is clear from the

[145] Justin Martyr, Second Apology chapter 6 reads, "for many demoniacs throughout the entire world, and even in your city, were exorcised by many of our Christians in the name of Jesus Christ." Cf. Tertullian Apology 23:4 cited above.
[146] The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 20:3.
[147] Eusebius of Caesarea, ca. 260-340, *Eusebius Pamphilli Ecclessiastical History Books 6-10*, trans. Roy J. Deferrrari (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1956), 6:43.
[148] Minucius Felix, *The Church Fathers: Tertullian Apologetical Works and Minucius Felix, Octavius*, trans. Rudolph Arbesmann (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of American Press, 1950), *Octovius* 27:5.
[149] Felix, *Octavius* 27:7.
[150] For example, Tertullian argued Christians needed to fast since "even the demons require their dreaming subjects to fast in order to give themselves the [deceptive] appearance of true divinity."

foregoing discussion that the practices currently going on among proponents of "witchdemonology" have similarities to those that went on in the Hellenistic Church.

2.2 Western Church

Clearly there is little doubt that the biblical writers and the early church believed in the existence of the devil and his allied demonic powers. If Christianity had been replanted in West Africa in this background, there would not have been the tension that goes on between Africans and the Western churches. But as it has been demonstrated in Chapter Three, by the time Christianity was firmly established in West Africa, the Western church had assumed a rationalist worldview and only retained what the Nigerian Evangelical theologian Osadolor Imasogie assesses as "a veneer of the biblical world view."[153] Consequently, salvation was presented as deliverance from the divine wrath on the final day and reinstatement in the glory of God which was lost through sin, but not as deliverance from all the powers of Satan including sin and demonic influences and controls.[154]

Undeniably, the aftermath of the witchcraft persecution in the West, the Enlightenment, produced the rationalistic worldview in the West that has made the African and Western

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Tertullian, *The Church Fathers: Tertullian Apologetical Works - On the Soul*, trans. Edwin A. Quain (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of American Press, 1950), 48:4.

[151] For example, The Apostolic Tradition instructs that "they who are to be baptized shall fast on Friday, and on Saturday the bishop shall assemble them and command them to kneel in prayer. And, laying his hand upon them, he shall exorcise all evil spirits to flee away and never to return."Apostolic Tradition, 20:7-8.

[152] Clement of Alexandria gives instructions for visiting the sick, "let them, therefore, with fasting and prayer, make their intercessions with well arranged and fitly ordered of learning…." Clement of Alexandria, Epistle C. XII. Cited in John Woolmer, *Healing and Deliverance* (London: Monarch Books, 1999), 190.

[153] Osadolor Imasogie, *Guidelines for Christian Theology in Africa* (Achimota: Africa Christian Press, 1983), 52.

worldviews become two opposing polarities, perhaps falling into C. S. Lewis' two errors; the former disbelieve in the devil and the latter feel an "excessive and unhealthy interest" in him.[155]

The Western thinking is clearly represented by the demythologisation of "spirits" by the NT scholar Rudolf Bultmann in his popular article "The New Testament and Mythology."[156] Bultmann's main argument was that the NT presupposes a pre-scientific and mythical cosmology. Such a worldview, he contends, is now obsolete, and incompatible with scientific knowledge. He squarely puts it that "we can no longer believe in spirits, whether good or evil...."[157] Yet Bultmann is not saying that the demonic aspect of the NT is completely irrelevant, rather he wants it to be demythologised in line with the contemporary Western rationalistic worldview.[158] This demythologisation approach, as the works of some Western theologians have shown, removes all traces of the supernatural and explains them in terms of tangible realities in the material world.[159] Pauline terms of principalities and power have been contextualised as "the forces of politics, economics, prejudices and superstition."[160]

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[154] Cf. Imasogie, *Guidelines for Christian*, 52.
[155] C. S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), 3.
[156] Rudolf Karl Bultmann, "The New Testament and Mythology," in *Kerygma and Myth, 2 Vols. in 1*, Hans-Werner, trans. Bartsch and R. A. Fuller, eds. (London: SPCK, 1972), 1-44.
[157] Bultmann, "The New Testament and Mythology," 4.
[158] Ferdinando, "Screwtape Revisited," 105.
[159] Various theories have been put forward to explain the demon possession of the New Testament. For example, the demon possession in the New Testament has been suggested to be a just a symbolisation of domination of Galilee, an infra-family coping mechanism or a wide variety of mental disorders. For works on these see, for example, Davies, *Jesus The Healer;* Gnilka, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 120-25; Keller, *Miracles in Dispute*; 227-39; Crossan, *The History of Jesus;*303-32; Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence*, 181-87; Opoku Onyinah, "An Examination of Akan Witchcraft with Reference to the Supernatural Aspect of Evil in the Gospels, Dilating Specially on Demon Possession and Exorcism" (MTh. Diss., Regents Theological College, 1998), 61-73.
[160] N. T. Wright, *Colossians and Philemon* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1986), 116. See also G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

Following Jung, Wink has proposed a "collective possession" which, for him, means "institutions which have their spirits," and "inner personal demonic" as "elements introjected into personality from the general pathology of society."[161] Thus there is no ground for demons inhabiting people as appears in the NT.

Nevertheless, as Page notes, "the appalling evil that we see around us cannot satisfactorily be explained by human perversity."[162] The Episcopal priest and theologian Morton Kelsey observes that it was the psychiatrist Carl Jung, although not a Christian, who released the West from the materialistic worldview by his acceptance that "both the spiritual domain and the saving power available there are real, and that we human beings could not live truly satisfactory lives and come to our full potential if we did not take these realities into consideration."[163] That Kelsey's assertion is plausible is seen in the classic work of Richard Noll, a clinical psychologist,[164] who demonstrates that Jung's analysis contains little to explain the workings of the human mind but a resurgence of neo-paganism.[165] Consequently, for over two decades,

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[161] Walter Wink, *Naming the Power: The Language of Power in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 45, 25, 52, 64-66; cf. Field who uses demythologisation methodology and denies angels in the Bible. Basing her argument from her experiences in Ghana, she assumes that angels were messengers of landlords or men of authority. Margaret J. Field, *Angels and Ministers of Grace: An Ethno-Psychiatrist's Contribution to Biblical Criticism* (London: Longman, 1971), iv-xv.

[162] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 268.

[163] Morton Kelsey, *Healing Christianity: A Classic Study*, 1973, Third Edition (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1995), 254.

[164] He is a Resident Fellow at the Dibner Institute for History of Science and Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts and holds academic appointment at Harvard University.

[165] Noll contends that Jung left the scientific world and the academia. Richard Noll, *The Jung Cult: Origins of a Charismatic Movement* (London: Fontana Press (Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers), 1996), 269. See also pages 137, 141,144. Cf. Robert Cook, "Devil & Manticores: Plundering Jung for a Plausible Demonology," in *The Unseen World: Christian Reflections on Angels, Demons and the Heavenly Realms*, 165-184. Wink has been cited elsewhere as building on Jung's psychology which initially seems to reject the concept of spirit. Consequently he has been criticised, for instance, by Arnold that he "cannot bring himself to believe in the actual existence of evil spirits. But, as has also been brought to light by Cook, when pressed hard, Wink accepts that "there does seem to be something…more virulently evil than the personal shadow…projected on a scapegoat." Clinton E. Arnold, *Powers of*

although the prevailing Western worldview is still materialism, there has been an awareness of the spirit world in Western Christianity. Nigel Wright rightly observes that this must largely be due to the influence of the Charismatic movement, which he considers as a reaction to the materialism and spiritual barrenness of modernity.[166] This thesis has demonstrated in Chapter Four that the contemporary "witchdemonology" among the Akan derives a lot of strength from such Western neo-Pentecostal leaders.

Abisa is represented in Western societies in various forms such as consulting psychic counsellors, spiritists, palm readers, and reading of horoscopes for guidance. A survey conducted in 1990 by Neil Anderson among Christian teenagers in the USA indicated that almost 50% (861) out of 1725 people had involved themselves in what he calls "occult activity."[167] Thus despite the general tendency of a naturalistic worldview which reduces the spirit world into a materialistic explanation, "witchdemonology" still has its counterpart in some Western Christianity.

2.3 Other Parts of the World

Reports from other parts of the world also indicate that belief in the spirit world and the practice of deliverance contribute largely to the growth of churches in Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia.[168] For example, Freston writes that "Spiritual warfare is key

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Darkness (Leicester: IVP, 1992), 198; Walter Wink, *Unmasking the Powers* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 187; Cook, "Devil & Manticores," 176.

[166] Nigel G. Wright, "Charismatic Interpretations of the Demonic," in *The Unseen World*, 149. See also Graham Dow, "The Case for the Existence of Demons," *Churchman* 94, no. 3 (1980): 199-209.

[167] Neil Anderson, *The Bondage Breaker: Overcoming Negative Thoughts, Irrational Feelings and Habitual Sins*, 1993, New Edition 2000 (London: Monarch Books, 2000), 128.

[168] For example, see Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford and Susan D. Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (London: Routledge, 1996); Ioan M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion:A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*, 1971, Second Edition (London: Routledge, 1989); Ioan M. Lewis,

for Charismatics and, increasingly, for other Brazilian evangelicals."[169] Cox points out that "ecstatic trances, demon possession, exorcism: all seem to find their place" at "Yoido Full Gospel Church, or at any of several thousand Korean Pentecostal churches."[170] Of course the prayer centre concept is similar to the prayer mountain phenomenon in Korea.[171] The Jamaican anthropologist Diane Austin-Broos remarks that exorcism is the most dramatic act in which a pastor can be seen to heal and thereby allow a person to become a saint.[172]

The discussion in this section so far shows that a number of key practices of similarity might be identified between "witchdemonology" and the early Hellenistic church, some

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Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma, 1986, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); R. A. Tippett, "Spirit Possession as It Relates to Cultures and Religion," in *Demon Possession*, John Warwick Montgomery, ed. (Minneapolis: Bethany House Publishers, 1976), 143-74; Cox, *Fire from Heaven;* Myrtle S. Langley, "Spirit-Possession and Exorcism and Social Context: An Anthropological Perspective with Theological Implications," *Churchman* 94, no. 3 (1980): 226-45; Karla Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1994). In this edition, see André Droogers article which shows the importance of healing, prophecy, dreams and visions in Pentecostal praxis. André Droogers, "The Normalization of Religious Experience: Healing, Prophecy, Dreams, and Visions," 33-49.

[169] Paul Freston, "Charismatic Evangelicals in Latin America: Mission and Politics on Frontiers of Protestant Growth," in *Charismatic Christianity*, Stephen Hunt, Malcolm Hamilton and Tony Walter, eds. (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), 191. Cf. Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, Chapter Five – Spiritual Warfare: The Case of the Philippines, 75-104. Here, just like the proponents of "witchdemonology" do in Ghana, the presenter shows that there are demons everywhere to be confronted. " (p. 75). See also David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: Explosion of Protestanism in Latin America* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1990), 164-84; Parker Cristian, *Popular Religion & Modernization in Latin America: A Different Logic*, 1993, trans. Robert R. Barr (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 102-06.

[170] Cox, *Fire from Heaven*, 225. Cf. Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, Chapter Six - South Korea: Modernization with a Vengeance, Evangelization with the Modern Edge (105-30). Here the writers hint on Ki Dong Kim who began his church with seven members which within eighteen years, had grown to 40,000 members. Kim's preoccupation, according him, is exorcism (p. 119).

[171] Eim Yeo-Soo, "The Roots of Korean Pentecostalism," *The 18th Pentecostal World Conference Seoul/Theological Symposium* (1998): 38-52; Sung Kwang Kim, "A Comparative Study of Traditional Religions and Christian Fasting in Korea," *Korea Journal of Systematic Theology* 1 (1997): 73-95; Kim Sam-Whan and Kim Yoon-Su, *Church Growth Through Early Dawn Prayer Meetings*, Rin Ro Bong and Marlin L. Nelson, eds. (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1995), 96-110.

[172] Diane J. Austin-Broos, "Pentecostal Community and Jamaican Hierarchy," in *Religion, Diaspora, and Cultural Identity: A Reader in Anglophone Caribbean*, John W. Pulis, ed. (New York: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1999), 225.

Western Christianity and some churches in other parts of the world, yet this does not give the authorisation that everything contemporary "witchdemonology" assumes is acceptable or sanctioned. The focus of the translational approach which this thesis adopts is to express the biblical message in terms and contexts that are relevant and meaningful in the local culture.[173] As the thesis demonstrated in Chapter Five that contemporary "witchdemonology" raises some ethical questions among Akan societies, it is important now to identify the possible tensions between "witchdemonology" and the Bible.

3 "WITCHDEMONOLOGY" IN TENSION WITH THE BIBLE

Notwithstanding the apparent similarities between "witchdemonology" and the biblical cosmology, there are areas where there are real tensions (and apparent tensions) between them.[174]

3. 1 The Sovereignty of God

The Biblical emphasis on the sovereignty of God is almost absent in "witchdemonology." This is manifested in several ways. Firstly, is the failure to

[173] See Chapter One, section 3.

[174] Here the evaluation takes into consideration criteria set down by exponents of the transitional approach/the dynamic model and others that are thought relevant for this purpose. Kraft, for example, offers five principles. (i) Every cultural system should be sized up in terms of its own ideals, not those of some similar system in another culture. (ii) It is important to be constantly aware of the fact that the pervasiveness of sin is universal. (iii) It is important to keep in mind that what we know now is only partial. (iv) It should be recognised that a people's religious system does serve several extremely important horizontal functions whether or not it adequately fulfils the necessary vertical functions. (v) There should be the recognition of the universal need for the fulfilling of the function of relating human beings to God. Charles H. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Orbis: Maryknoll, 1979), 90-95; see also Charles H. Kraft, "Measuring Indigeneity," in *Readings in Dynamic Indigeneity*, eds. Charles H. Kraft and Tom N. Wisley (Pasadena, 1979), 118-52; Louis J. Luzbetak, *Church and Cultures:New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology*, 1963, Second Edition (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988), 347-51.

recognise the supremacy of God. In the Bible, the Lord is the one true God, with overall supremacy over all spiritual powers.[175] The gods of the nations, sometimes addressed as "the host of heaven,"[176] are depicted as "the courtly retinue that enhances the unique majesty of Yahweh."[177] Satan is simply one of these spirits.[178] These spirits, whether good or evil, remain under God's sovereignty, they can tempt or afflict by divine permission,[179] and can be used of God to effect his divine plan.[180] For example, spirits designated as evil spirits[181] and lying spirits[182] became envoys of God. Nevertheless, while proponents of "witchdemonology" recognise God as the creator of the universe and worship him, the impression that follows is that of the Akan culture where, although God is considered the Supreme Being, scarcely does he intervene at all in the affairs of people or, even if he wills to intervene, his actions always delay.[183] Failure to acknowledge such sovereign power of God inevitably leads to the fear and uncertainty manifested in clients for deliverance, whose attitudes appear as if their fate were at the mercy of the spirit forces. Thus here, the Akan Christians' adaptation of the culture into Christianity falls short of biblical truth. It reflects the fallen condition of humanity. There is the need, therefore, to renew the belief in order to redeem the people from the slavery of fear. Here, it will be appropriate to apply one of the five

[175] Deut.6:4; Deut. 33:2; Neh. 9:6; Job 38:7; Ps. 89: 5-8; Ps. 148:2; Eph. 4:4-6.
[176] Neh. 9:6; Ps 148:2, cf. the holy ones (Deut. 33:6; Ps.89:5-8), sons of God (Job 1:6; Job 38:7). Some of these phraseologies in the Old Testament make it appear that the gods of the other nations were considered the holy ones, who could not be compared with the Lord God. Paul, for example, uses the word "angel" or "messenger" when describing the agents of Satan (2 Cor. 11:14; Cor. 12:7). Thus to describe the gods of the nations as the host of heaven, or the holy ones may not be strange. Cf. Dunn and Twelftree, "Demon-Possession and Exorcism," 215.
[177] Dunn and Twelftree, "Demon-Possession and Exorcism," 215; Dennis F. Kinlaw, "The Demythologization of Demonic in the Old Testament," in *Demon Possession*, 34.
[178] Job 1:6-7.
[179] Job 1:12; Matt. 4:1; Lk. 22:31; 2 Cor. 12:7.
[180] Matt. 16:21-23, Lk. 24:25-26 cf. Acts 2:23-24.
[181] Jud. 9:23; 1 Sam. 16:14-16.
[182] 1 Kgs. 22:19-23; 2 Chr. 18:18-22.

categorised views of the relationship between Christ and culture, "Christ the transformer of culture," proposed by Niebuhr, which has also been adapted by some missiologists.[184]

Secondly, is the understanding of misfortunes. While proponents of "witchdemonology" give the impression that all misfortunes originate from the devil, the Bible gives alternative causes. God sometimes is presented as the source of some misfortunes. Although varied reasons are given for such misfortunes, for instance, an infirmity is used as an instrument of sanctification[185] and it is sometimes used as a punishment as a result of sin, the point is that the basis of the misfortune is God.[186] Again, some misfortunes can best be ascribed to what Thomas designates as "neutral or natural causes."[187] Thus, while the biblical concepts of the origins of misfortune do not necessarily undermine the main philosophy of "witchdemonology," which assumes that there is a cause for everything that happens, it challenges its basic presuppositions of

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[183] See Chapter Two section 2.1.

[184] The other four are "the Christ of Culture," "Christ above culture," "Christ and culture in paradox" and "Christ against Culture." H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), cf. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 103-15; David J. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally: An Introduction to Missionary Communication* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), 79-80.

[185] This is the case of Paul's thorn in the flesh (2 Cor. 12:7-12).

[186] The Bible clearly shows direct connection between sin and suffering/misfortune. For example, see 1 Samuel 2:6, "the Lords brings death and makes alive…"; the plagues on the Egyptians (Ex.7-11); the affliction on the Philistines (1 Sam. 5:6-12), the striking of the seventy people of Beth Shemesh (1 Sam 6:19-20); the death of Uzzah (1 Sam.6:7); the sickness of David's child and his death (2 Sam. 12:13-18); the case of the man born blind (Jn. 9:1-3); the blindness of Zechariah, Saul and Elymas (Lk. 1:18-20; Acts 9:8-9; Acts 14:4-12); death of Ananias and Saphira (Acts 5:1-11), the death of Herold (Act 12:21-23). See Thomas, *The Devil, Disease and Deliverance*, 36-37, 55-84, 110-23, 192-97, 244-49, 262-78 and Michael Brown, *Israel's Divine Healer: Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1995), 87-105.

[187] Thomas, *The Devil, Disease and Deliverance*, 304. Examples of this are: Isaac's blindness (Gen. 27:1); Elisha's sickness and his subsequent death(1Kgs. 13:14); the death of the widow's son (1 Kgs. 17:17-18); the death of some people in Galilee cited by Jesus (Lk. 13:1-5); the illnesses of Paul's co-workers (Epaphroditus, Timothy and Trophimus, Phil. 2:27; 1 Tim.5:23; 2 Tim. 4:20).

attributing everything to demonic origins and, therefore, calls for a reformulation of this concept.

Thirdly, is the operation of demons. Proponents of "witchdemonology" give the impression that there are demons everywhere and people need to be extra careful else they will be harmed by witches and demons or become demonised. The biblical emphasis on the evils done by Satan and demons lies in their attempts to oppose God. They execute their plans by putting a hindrance to, or by influencing the people of God as they carry out the work of God. Ferdinando rightly points to the three explicit OT references to Satan[188] as portraying him as primarily inciting to, or accusing of, moral evil.[189] Similarly the main work of Satan and demons in the NT is to oppose Christ and his Church.[190] Even when the Bible shows that the devil has attacked righteous people, often it shows that Satan only carried out his plans after asking permission from God and works within that limitation.[191]

Further, while the *raison d'être* of Akan witchcraft and its persistence into Christians exorcism is the belief that the witches can harm people supernaturally, the demoniacs, which have been recognised as witches by Akan Pentecostal Christians, are not presented like this in the gospels.[192] Rather they are depicted as unfortunate sufferers who are dominated by unclean spirits which torment them.[193]

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[188] 1 Chr. 21:1; Job 1-2; Zec. 3:1-2.
[189] Ferdinando, "Screwtape Revisited," 125.
[190] For example, see Matt. 4:1-12; 1 The. 2:18; cf. Acts 4:23-30.
[191] It has been shown elsewhere in this chapter that such permission granted is portrayed in the cases of Job, Peter and Paul (Job 1:12; Lk. 22:31; 2 Cor. 12:7-12; cf. 1 Cor. 10:13).
[192] As shown already in this chapter, some references in the Old Testament imply that witches were believed to harm some people and keep other alive. Tobit 3:7 may imply that demoniacs were considered

In connection with the emphasis of harm that "witchdemonology" and some Africans place on the works of the evil powers, some scholars have seen a basic difference of conception with respect to the meaning of salvation between African and biblical ideas. For example, in biblical understanding, Ferdinando sees sin in terms of "rebellion against a sovereign creator and the consequent spiritual lostness and death."[194] But from the African perspective, he argues that "salvation means deliverance from the evil of this world" and thus "it is the suffering that sins cause, rather than the sins themselves, that is the real evil."[195] While Ferdinando appears right in his premises of the basic divergence between African concept of salvation and that of the Bible, he appears wrong in the example cited.[196] Indeed some Africans, as shown in the proponents of "witchdemonology," place too much emphasis on the works of Satan and demons which the Bible does not present. The spiritual forces, such as the gods, dwarfs, witches and traditional priests, appear to have too much freedom to do whatever they want to do without any limitation. Thus what the Akan Christians need is to put

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to be able to harm people in the New Testament times. The text shows that the demon, Asmodeus killed the successive bridegrooms of Sarah, each on their wedding night (Tob. 3:7-9). Yet even here there are disagreements about the meaning of the text. While some scholars assume that Sarah was possessed by the demon, others point to the fact that the text does not really say this. However, for proponents of "witchdemonology," this may be a good evidence of the powers of demoniacs to harm people in the period. Edwin Yamauchi, "Magic or Miracle? Diseases, Demon and Exorcisms," in *Gospel Perspectives: Miracles of Jesus, Vol. 6*, David Wenham and Craig Blomberg, eds. (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 118.

[193] The dominating spirits are completely evil, causing, for example, dumbness, epilepsy and madness (Matt. 9:32-34; Lk. 9:37-42; Mk. 5:1-21).

[194] Ferdinando, "Screwtape Revisited," 126.

[195] Ferdinando, "Screwtape Revisited," 125-26; Ferdinando, "Biblical Concepts of Redemption and African," 277-78. He also cites Evans-Pritchard assertion on Nuer beliefs that, "Nuer do not reason that incestuous congress with a kinswoman is bad and therefore God punishes it but that God causes misfortune to follow it and therefore it is bad. Cf. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (Oxford: University Press, 1956), 194.

[196] African concept of suffering which follows sin does not imply that they do not regard the seriousness of sins themselves. Sin is considered serious, that is why it is punished by the gods, who are believed to represent the Supreme Being, or the Supreme Being himself or the nation. See Chapter Two, section 2.7. Cf. John S. Mbiti, *Africa Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 210; Byang H. Kato, *Theological Pitfalls in Africa* (Kisumu (Kenya): Evangelical Publishing House, 1975), 41. Bediako feels

the operations of Satan and the demonic within the proper framework of biblical cosmology, showing, even as Ferdinando points out, that the demonic is parasitic upon sin.[197]

Fourthly, is the place of suffering. "Witchdemonology," heavily based on Akan holistic notions of salvation and energised by Western proponents of prosperity and deliverance ministries, gives the impression that there is a specific cause for suffering in a person's life. The cause is either of demonic origin or the result of ancestral curses. But the biblical concept of the fall indicates that suffering and also death are part of life in the world.[198] The fact that suffering continues to be part of human experience for both Christians and non-Christians means that this aspect of teaching puts unnecessary pressure on people. Therefore, the Akan Pentecostal concept of suffering needs to be put within the biblical framework.

3.2 The Attention Given to the Demonic

In the Bible the demonic is reduced to secondary causes in the accomplishment of God's supreme purpose as against proponents of "witchdemonology's" preoccupation with it. Here four factors come out clearly. Firstly is the graphic description of the activities and confession of witches and demoniacs in deliverance services. While such description and confessions become useful instruments for exorcists to carry out their exorcisms, where the Bible assigns mishap to the work of Satan or the demonic, the

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that what is needed is to tell the people that sin is not only antisocial but it is against the Lord. Kwame Bediako, *Jesus in Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Africa, 2000), 26.

[197] Ferdinando, "Biblical Concepts of Redemption and African," 177, 239, 255, 282.

[198] E. g. Gen. 3:1-24; Rom. 5:12-14.

subject receives relatively less attention in comparison to the Jewish literature of NT times, and those that influenced Christianity after the NT era, including the Magical Papyri.[199]

Furthermore, in the Bible where some references suggest a hierarchical ranking or territorial control, the theme receives little attention. The implication is that the demonic is reduced to secondary causes in the accomplishment of God's purposes. From an Akan Christian perspective, then, while such extended descriptions may be seen as part of the contextualisation exercise based upon Akan traditional religion, they stand the risk of magnifying the work of the demonic, stigmatising the self-confessed witches or demoniac and sowing the seed of demonisation into naïve people. Here again Niebuhr's category, "Christ the transformer of culture" needs to be applied to reform the contextualised traditional practices, which often cause confusion among people.[200]

Secondly, is the ritual and techniques applied in the course of the exorcism. During deliverance sessions by proponents of "witchdemonology," every exorcism involves a real struggle or battle. Often some demons seem to gain the upper hand, as some leave the session without success. Nevertheless, in the four main narratives of exorcisms in

[199] The Greek Magical Papyri (PGM) is a collection of material which illustrate first century Palestinian beliefs and practices about healing and exorcism. For studies on demonology during the New Testament times and early Christian world see, S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament* (Oslo: Brøgger, 1966); E. Ferguson, *Demonology in the Early Christian World* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980); Twelftree, *Christ Triumphant*, 20-54; Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist: A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Jesus* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993), 13-21; H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago: The Chicago Press, 198. See also Onyinah, "An Examination of Akan Witchcraft," 53-59.

[200] Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 190-229.

the synoptic gospels, with the exception of the Syrophoenician woman's daughter,[201] although there are confrontations between Jesus and the demons, there is no power struggle. The demoniacs often come as supplicants who need help rather than as negotiators[202]and Jesus commands demons to leave. Similarly Paul's encounter with the girl with a fortune-telling spirit in Acts 16:16-18 is without a power struggle. Thus exorcism in the NT indicates that the battle had already been won, as against "witchdemonology" which gives the impression that the battle needs to be won through struggle in spiritual warfare.

Furthermore, some expressions and practices in the act of exorcism, such as emphasis on prayer language, the role of repetitive and intensive prayer, the need for fasting, and the demand for confession, make exorcisms appear like techniques more comparable to magical formulae than to those presented in the synoptic gospels. Yet, as has been demonstrated through the thesis, such expressions and practices obviously follow those of the Akan traditional magico-religious practices. Thus, considering the dynamic model criteria for evaluating a cultural system, these expressions may be harmless, if they are helpful to communicate the intended Christian message to Akan respondents.[203] Nevertheless, the tiredness that follows deliverance, the constant need for deliverance,

[201] Mk 7:24-30 par. Matt. 15:21-8. Here there was no confrontation. Jesus expels the demon in the absence of the demoniac.
[202] Mk. 1:21-27; Lk. 9:37-43.
[203] For example, explaining his fourth principle set down, which states that "we should recognise that a people's religious system does serve several extremely important horizontal functions whether or not it adequately fulfils the necessary vertical functions," Kraft further contends that "folklore, especially the mythology, of a people will often be very helpful in defining these needs." Again, quoting Wilson, he shows "that traditional religion … often reveals fragments of truth—much more than many missionaries have supposed" and recommends that the forms of religious system and many of its meanings can profitably be retained within Christianity. Kraft, *Christianity in Culture*, 93. Cf. Monica Wilson, *Religion and the Transformation of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 24.

lack of success in some cases and the struggle indicate that these expressions and practices have not achieved the intended goal of total freedom in Christ. They rather wrongly demonstrate that power to exorcise resides in correct language, names, intensive prayer and fasting, but not on the finished work of Christ. Thus, here too, there is the need for " proper contextualisation" to be undertaken.

Thirdly, is the routine of exorcism performed on Christians, especially with regard to sinful behaviour. "Witchdemonology" gives the impression that there are demons attached to all sinful intentions and behaviours, an issue which has been shown in the previous chapter as causing people attributing their wrong doing to the devil. But the Bible rarely speaks of demons as the source of sinful behaviours. For Jesus, the heart is the source of sinful thoughts.[204] Similarly Paul sees "sin" as power in itself and the "flesh" as that dimension of the Christian's personality where evil thoughts are manifested set against the Spirit.[205] Thus here again it is "the flesh" and not the demonic which opposes the Spirit. Consequently there is the need to reconstruct the nature of evil from a biblical perspective in Akan Pentecostal Christianity.

Fourthly, is the practice of prayer camps. Prayer camps become the centres for exorcism within CoP ministry. But in the synoptic gospels, exorcism is performed as Jesus continues his ministry and encounters the demoniac. Although miracles follow the ministries of Peter, Philip and Paul, they do not set up camps, centring on exorcism and healing. In fact it appears that the crowds had wanted the disciples to settle down in

[204] E. g. Mk. 7:21-23; Matt. 15:18-20.
[205] Rom. 7:7-25; Gal. 5:19-22; cf. Guelich, "Spiritual Warfare," 58

one place but, like Jesus, they refused and would rather travel with the gospel message.[206] Yet despite the lack of camps in the Bible,[207] if this contextualised Akan religious practice had not been causing problems for society, it would not have been a major concern. But, as has been shown in Chapter Five, since the practices at some of the centres, such as the chaining of self-claimed or accused witches and prescription of dry fasting, have been causing problems, there is the need to re-address this within the biblical context.

The issues addressed here may be considered syncretistic by some Christians. Yet, despite the negative connotation that the term "syncretism" conveys,[208] especially in connection with the approaches also adopted by the African Initiated Churches,[209] the works of some theologians, such as Sepulveda and Hollenweger have demonstrated that "Christianity is syncretism par excellence."[210] Consequently, this thesis sees the tensions here not necessarily as the negative aspect of syncretism, but as the inevitable outcome of people in the quest to reinterpret and appropriate the Christian message to

[206] E. g. Jn. 6:66; cf. Acts 8:39; Acts 5:12-16; Acts 14:11-18.
[207] The place which appears like a prayer camp in the New Testament is the pool of Bethesda in John 5:1-15, where Jesus went and healed an invalid.
[208] Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, "Introduction: Problematizing Syncretism," in *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, Charles Stewart and Shaw Rosalind, eds. (London: Routledge, 1994), 1; André Droogers, "Syncretism: The Problem of Definition, the Definition of the Problem," in *Dialogue and Syncretism: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Jerald D. Gort, Hendrik M. Vroom, Rein Fernhout and Anton Wessels, eds. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 7.
[209] Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 297; Jim Kiernan, "Variations on a Christian Theme: The Healing Synthesis of Zulu Zionism," in *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism*, 70; G. C. Oosthuizen, *Post Christianity in Africa: A Theological and Anthropological Study* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1968), xi.
[210] Walter J. Hollenweger, "Syncretism and Capitalism," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 2, no. 1 (1999): 49. cf. Juan Esteban Sepulveda, "Gospel and Culture in Latin American Protestanism: Toward a New Theological Appreciation of Syncretism" (Ph. D. Diss., University of Birmingham, 1996), 379-80. Moreover, Hyde has demonstrated in his work, how paganism entered Christianity through the Roman Empire. It was this sort of Christianity which was also exported to other Christians. Walter Hyde, Woodburn, *Paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire* (London: Georffred Cumberlege, 1948), 46-76.

their own culture.[211] Thus what needs to be done is to help put these areas of tension into the framework of biblical theology.

4 THE WAY AHEAD

This section attempts to develop themes of "witchdemonology" which are in tension with biblical theology, and to place them within biblical perimeters.

4.1 The Sovereignty of God must be a Focus

The sovereignty of God becomes a hinge on which all other aspects of contextualisation of the Christian message for the Akan cosmology rest. Firstly, the sovereign reign of God over all his creation, including Satan, the gods and the demonic, must be emphasised among the Akan Pentecostals. God's sovereign reign over the universe makes little room for the demonic activity to take place.[212] Deuteronomy 32:39 clearly declares that it is the Lord who puts to death and brings to life, who wounds and heals.

Jesus' announcement of the kingdom of God at hand takes its special significance from the prophetic expectation in the OT for the coming of God's sovereign rule, where God's people would be completely liberated.[213] In the Beelzebub controversy, for example, Jesus clearly links his exorcism with the kingdom of God that is breaking

[211] Meyer uses of the word "appropriation" is befitting here, "the process of making Christianity one's own- a process which can even result in the subversion of missionary ideas." Birgit Meyer, "Beyond Syncreticism: Translation and Diabolization in the Appropriation of Protestantism in Africa," in *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism*, 45.

[212] The sovereignty of God is a biblical theology, which runs through the whole of the Bible. For example, see Ps 115:3; Is. 55:8-9; Mic. 4:11-12; Acts 17:24-28; Rom. 9:16-25; Heb. 6:13-20. See also Keith Ferdinando, "Sickness and Syncretism in the African Context," in *Mission and Meaning: Essays Presented to Peter Cotterell*, Antony Billington, Tony Lane and Max Turner, eds. (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995), 278.

through the satanic kingdom.[214] The implication of the parable of the strong man is that the binding and plundering of the strong man, Satan, occur simultaneously with the coming of the Messiah to inaugurate the kingdom of God.[215] Thus Jesus' exorcisms are visible signs of the kingdom of God on earth.[216] Paul's gospel also includes the conquering of all the principalities and powers in the heavenly realm.[217] For him, believers have been rescued from the kingdom of darkness, which is dominated by evil forces, and transferred into the kingdom of Christ.[218] As Patzia offers when commenting on Colossians 2:16, Paul's emphasis is that "in Christ alone, by virtue of his work on the cross, the evil rulers no longer have control over the believers."[219]

Yet the NT also shows that the devil and the powers are very active in the world and will continue to be until the final consummation when his power will be completely subdued. For example, Jesus shows in the parable of the sower that the devil is the evil one who snatches away the word of God from people's hearts.[220] In the parable of the weeds, he is portrayed as the enemy who seeks to destroy God's work by planting evil among them.[221] Again, in John's gospel, the Pharisees' desire to kill Jesus is seen as fulfilling the desire of their master, the devil.[222] Furthermore, Satan enters into Judas

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[213] Lk. 4:18-19; Mk. 1:15; cf. Is. 61:1-3; Is. 9:6-11.
[214] E.g. Matt. 12:28.
[215] E.g. Matt. 12:29.
[216] Guelich, "Spiritual Warfare," 39; Warrington, *Jesus the Healer,* 9.
[217] Col. 2:15;cf. Eph. 1:21.
[218] Col. 1:13.
[219] Arthur G. Patzia, *New International Biblical Commentary on Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1990), 59.
[220] Matt. 13:19.
[221] Matt. 13: 25, 38-39. Cf. D. A. Hagner, *World Biblical Commentary on Matthew 1-13, Vol. 33 A* (Dallas: Word, 1993), 392-93; Frederick D. Bruner, *Matthew, Vol. 1* (London: Word, 1987), 497.
[222] Jn. 8 :42-45.

before he sets forth to betray Jesus.[223] Paul and other NT writers also show that the evil powers are still in rebellion against Christ in attacking the Church and effectively working in unredeemed humanity.[224]

Therefore, Christians are called upon by NT writers such as James and Peter to resist the devil.[225] For Paul, Christians should put on the whole armour of Christ so that they stand up against "the devil's scheme."[226] This is an imagery which, as has been shown in Chapter Five, is understood by proponents of "witchdemonology" as a call to engage in spiritual warfare. However, Arnold stresses Oepke's comment on Ephesians 6:10-13 that this is "fundamentally the transcendental conflict between God and satanic powers, in which man [human being] is both passively and actively involved."[227] The implication here is that Paul speaks of "power struggles and not a warfare."[228] This becomes clearer if it is taken into consideration that Paul had already told the Ephesians, and often stressed in his writing, that the powers had already been defeated through the death and resurrection of Christ.[229] He had also assured the Ephesians that God had placed them in Christ who is above all powers and authorities.[230] Therefore, Paul's call to Christians to put on the whole armour of God to stand against the devil's schemes would correlate to what Guelich contends here, "the summons to prayer and

[223] Lk. 22:3; Jn. 13:27.
[224] E. g. Eph. 6:10-20; 1 Pet. 5:8; 2 Cor. 4:4; Rev. 12:7-12. See Clinton E. Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic. The Concept of Power in Ephesians in Light of Its Historical Setting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 69.
[225] Pet. 5:9; Jam.4:7.
[226] Eph. 6:10-13.
[227] Quoted in Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic*, 118.
[228] Guelich, "Spiritual Warfare," 60.
[229] Eph. 1:21; Eph. 3:10; Col. 1:16; Col.2:16; Php. 2:6-11. The implication of Christ having been raised above all the powers indicate their defeat.
[230] Eph.1:3-14.

supplication for oneself, the saint and for Paul, would be specifically a prayer that God would protect them from the adversary."[231]

Comparing Guelich's interpretation quoted here with Jesus' admonition to the disciples in the Lord's prayer, "and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one"[232] brings the sovereignty of God over the believer's life into sharper focus. The implication is that the "evil one" can tempt or attack the believer only with the permission of God and within his limitation. Thus Christians are not to fight with the devil; their armoury for protection against the enemy is based on what God has done in history in the coming of Christ. Christians are, therefore, to stand by putting the word of God into practice. Thus while the existentially felt needs of protection by the Akan Christians are relevant because of the eschatological tension of the work of Christ pictured in the NT, they are to be reminded of their position in Christ and the assurance that so far as they are under the sovereign control of God, no *bayie*, (witchcraft), or *aduro* ("fetish" or sorcery) will be able to overpower them.

Secondly, the specific work of Satan and the demonic among Christians needs to be highlighted among Akan Christians. Basically, as it has been mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, the work of Satan and the powers is to oppose God. To achieve their opposing intentions, they seek to influence Christians to live in ways which are contrary to their expressed intentions and the word of God.[233]

[231] Guelich, "Spiritual Warfare," 60.
[232] Matt. 6:13.
[233] For example, as shown elsewhere in this chapter, in the Old Testament he is presented as tempting Job to forsake God, misleading Eve and David and accusing Joshua the high priest (Job 1-2, 1 Chr. 21:1; Zec.

In the Pauline corpus, Satan is portrayed as living up to his name "adversary." For example, he tempts, misleads, torments, traps, hinders and deceives Christians.[234] The writings of other NT authors also show that evil stems from the devil who seeks to devour Christians and thwart the will of God at every turn.[235] A major way that almost all the NT writers convey the work of the devil among believers is his attempt to enslave them through false teaching.[236] In Revelation 12:10, he is labelled as "the accuser of our brothers," that is, the one who brings charges to God continuously against believers. [237]

Accordingly, the NT shows that the ground upon which the devil works is sin. Ferdinando articulates that "it is precisely by addressing the problem of sin that Christ's atoning work also, in consequence, brings about the defeat of Satan and the powers."[238] Consequently, in Colossians 2:15, the disarmament and public spectacle of the "powers and authorities" follow the cancellation of the written code against sinners. Other NT passages also suggest that forgiveness of sins, as an aspect of salvation, is linked with deliverance from the powers of the evil one.[239]

3:1-2). In Luke, he is shown as influencing Peter to live in a way contrary to his expressed intention (Lk. 22:31-34, cf. 22:55-62).

[234] 1 Thes. 3:5; 1 Cor. 7:5; 1 Tim. 5:15; 2 Cor. 12:7; 1Thes. 2:18; 2 Cor 11:14.

[235] 1 Pet.5:8-9; Jam. 4:7-10; 1 Jn. 5:18; Rev. 12:9.

[236] E. g. Matt. 7:15; Mk. 13:22; Jn. 4:1; 2 Jn. 4:1; ; Acts. 20:29-31; 2 Cor. 11:1-5; Gal. 1:6-10; Col. 2:16-23; 1 Tim 4:1-5; Heb. 13:9; 2 Pet. 2:1-3; Jude 3-4; Rev. 2:18-24.

[237] Through this he creates feeling of guilt, doubts and fear, so that Christians cannot be effective and in order that he can also get ground to attack.

[238] Ferdinando, "Sickness and Syncretism," 281. See Colossian 2:13-15.

[239] E. g. Acts 26:15-18; Heb. 2: 14-18; 1 Jn. 3:8; Rev. 12:7-12; Gal. 1:4; Col. 4:13-14

The NT therefore urges Christians not to allow sin to have dominion over them by giving in to the craving of the flesh.[240] Paul especially recognises that although, the compelling influence of the flesh has been broken by the work of Christ, the inner compulsion continually seeks to reassert its claim on Christians. He provides several lists of categories of sins, but in all of these he does not contrast "the flesh" with "the demonic," but rather with the "new man" or "the Spirit."[241] For example, in Galatians 5:19-23 he offers two lists of "the works of the flesh" and "the fruit of the Spirit" as representative lists which illustrate with specific examples the state of tension between the flesh and the Spirit. Fee analyses the fifteen items in "the works of the flesh" into four categories.[242] Significantly, eight of the items, falling within the same class, describe actions that lead to the breakdown of social relations, societal issues which this thesis has demonstrated in Chapter Five as some of the main causes of witchcraft accusations among the Akan Pentecostal community (also among Akan people in general). Three vices fall within illicit sex, two come under false worship and two are classified as excesses. For proponents of "witchdemonology," as has been revealed in Chapter Five, most of the items on these lists are demonic. Thus, the reason Paul fails to pinpoint these items and similar lists elsewhere as demonic is relevant for the Akan Pentecostals. Undoubtedly, Christians are warned against "the works of the flesh," not because they are demonic, but because they are concrete expressions of "works" carried out by people who live in keeping with the human nature and that of the world around them. Such vices, according

[240] E. g. Rom. 6:12; Col. 3: 5; Heb. 12:14-17; 1 Pet. 1:15-21; Jam. 4:1-10; cf. 1 Jn. 3:2-6.
[241] E. g. 1 Cor. 6:9-10; 1 Cor. 5:11; 2 Cor. 12:20; Col.3: 5-9; Eph. 4:17-24.
[242] There are: "illicit sex (3-sexual immorality, impurity, licentiousness), illicit worship (2-idolatry, sorcery), breakdown in relationships (8-hostilities, strife, jealously, outburst of rage, selfish ambitions, dissensions, fractions, envies) and excesses (2-drunken orgies, revelries)." Gordon Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Paternoster, 1994), 441.

to Paul, may become the foothold of Satan and also bring the wrath of God.[243] Thus Paul's consistent warning to believers not to yield to the flesh means that every Christian faces the recurring choice of either giving in to the compelling influence of the flesh, or continuing living in obedience to the Spirit.

The implication of this, for the Akan people, is that most of the issues which are taken for supernatural acts of witchcraft, ancestral curse or demonic may be appropriately considered as the work of the flesh. For instance, an inner propensity to continue in an act that is against one's intent, like masturbation or fornication, may not necessarily be demonic influence. Similarly a person who has an anger tantrum, often tell lies, is prone to accident or liable to negligence may not be encountering demonic problems, but only be yielding to the flesh or a weakness in temperament. Consequently, these acts may not need exorcism, but rather need to be overcome by "walking in the Spirit."[244]

This is not to deny the possibility of physical attacks by the devil. Rather it is to emphasise that primarily the demonic attack to Christians is "spiritual" or, put another way, is to influence them to live in ways which are contrary to their expressed intentions and the word of God.

The purpose of the devil does not exclude the possibility of attack about which the Akan Christian is so much concerned. Clearly the Bible indicates that the devil

[243] Eph. 4:20; Col.3:6; Rom 1:18.
[244] This theme will be picked up later in this chapter.

instigates persecution against Christians which results in suffering and some cases death of believers.[245] Again, the Bible hints that the devil induces spiritual attack which may manifest in physical infirmity as in the case of Paul's "thorn in the flesh."[246] But that Paul prayed to God three times and was not "delivered" means the issue was not between Paul and the devil, but rather between Paul and his God. This indicates that the eschatological tension displayed in the NT means Christians are still exposed to the attack of demonic powers which, although defeated, may attack under the permission of God.

This discussion leads to the third factor, that is, the place of misfortune or suffering within the Akan Pentecostals' sphere, which needs to be set within the Christian doctrine of the fall. The biblical concept of the fall implies that the whole human race fell as a result of the fall of Adam.[247] Therefore, the whole creation has "been subjected to frustration,"[248] that is, suffering and death exist as an inevitable part of the world. Yet creation has a hope of being "liberated from its bondage to decay."[249] The death and resurrection of Christ marks the beginning of the end (the hope), which means "God's final (eschatological) saving of his people has already been effected by

[245] E. g. Rev. 2:9, 13; Rev. 3:9; Rev. 13;7; 1 Pet. 5:8-9.
[246] 2 Cor. 12:7.
[247] Paul R. Sponheim, "Sin and Evil," in *Christian Dogmatics, Vol. One*, Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, eds. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1990), 433-34; Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1994), 810-812. See also, T. Douglas John Hall, *God and Human Suffering: God & An Exercise in the Theology of the Cross* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986), 73-92; Johannes Van Bavel, "The Meaning of Suffering and Attempts at Interpretation," in *God and Human Suffering*, Jan Lambrencht and Raymond F. Collins, eds. (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1989), 121-36.
[248] Rom. 8:20.
[249] Rom. 8:20-21.

Christ."[250] As Moltmann explains, "the resurrection does not evacuate the cross [suffering]," but it provides hope for God's final triumph over evil.[251] Thus, since the believers' final redemption has not yet been fully realised, redemption is in the future. As Fee puts it, "believers, therefore, "live between the times" of "the already" but "not yet."[252] The outcome of this eschatological tension is that Christians are still exposed to physical afflictions, including any type of suffering or misfortune. Misfortune does not necessarily mean that the devil has attacked, neither does it mean that the person has sinned. It can just be the result of the fallen aspect of humanity.

Therefore, the three sources of misfortune —God, the devil and natural or neutral— must be brought to bear upon the ministry of "witchdemonology." There is the need to accept the fact that God allows Christians to relate to all suffering in a way that brings good, so that experiencing suffering becomes for them a valuable way of life.[253] The issue which is of concern to the Akan here, then, is how can one know the source of the problem? Attention is turned to this next.

4.2 *Abisa* as Prophethood of all Believers and Prophetic Counselling

The Akan concept of *abisa* may be contextualised into the Christian theology of prayer and specifically into the NT concept of the prophethood of all believers. The thesis has demonstrated that *abisa* is an integral part of Akan religious life and that the attraction

[250] Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 804. In other words, through the death of Christ, the future condemnation which human deserves has been transferred from future to the past. E.g. Eph. 1:7; Eph. 2:8.
[251] Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, trans. R. A. Wilson and John Bowden (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1974), 182.
[252] Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 805, 799, 805. See also; John Wilkinson, "Physical Healing and the Atonement," *Evangelical Quarterly* 63 (1991): 149-67. E. g. Eph. 4:30; cf. Rom. 5:9; Gal. 5:5.
[253] Cf. 1 Cor. 12:7-10.

of most religious revivals among the Akan has been the religion's or the leaders' ability to divine (*bisa*) and relate his counsel to people's practical needs. Thus, if the task of theology is as Paul Tillich sees it, constructing "a theology of culture," that is, relating the message to each culture, then this is absolutely essential.[254] Apparently the Christian theology of prayer, if considered in its entirety, is similar to *abisa*. Many church leaders agree that prayer is communicating with God.[255] What does communicating with a person mean besides the fact that a person speaks to another with the intent of having a response from the other? This sort of communication is what the Akan may identify as *abisa*. This means, one of the causes of major problems that the Christian Church has encountered among Akan Christianity is that *abisa* has not been integrated into the concept of prayer. Yet, the context of *abisa* is very prominent in the Bible.

In the OT, for example, people who are used by God often consult God, and hear from or speak for God in many situations. Notwithstanding the fact that this is the specific ministry of the people labelled prophets,[256] this is also illustrated in the lives of those who walk with the Lord.[257] People who do not have direct relationship with God often consult the prophet or his representative who can hear from and speak for God in many

[254] Paul Tillich, *Modern Theology: Selections from Twentieth-Century Theologians Edited with Introductions and Notes by E. J. Tinsley* (London: Epworth Press, 1973), 66.
[255] E.g. Walter L. Liefeld, 1915, "Prayer," in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Geoffrey Bromiley, General Editor (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986), 931; H. H. Farmer, *The World and God: A Study of Prayer, Providence and Miracle in Christian Experience*, 1935 (London: The Fontana Library, 1963), 122-24; Don W. McFarlane, "Steps to a Successful Prayer Life," in *Praying with Power*, Joe Aldred, ed. (London: Continuum, 2000), 9-10; Cebert Richard, "Prayer and Decision-Making," in *Praying with Power*, 69.
[256] These include people like Moses, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah and the rest of those whose prophecies have been recorded.

situations.[258] Further, *abisa* can be inferred from the ministry of the prophetess Deborah: "the Israelites came to her to have their disputes decided."[259] The lack of a person who can hear from and speak for God means a disaster for the nation; people can do whatever pleases them.[260] Thus hearing from God, in other words, prophetic ministry in the OT, is a very important aspect of God's relationship with humankind.

Joel speaks of a time to come when God will pour out his Spirit on all people which will result in all people hearing from God and speaking for him in forms of prophecies, dreams and visions.[261] Luke understands the day of Pentecost as the fulfilment of this prophecy when he picks up Peter's message and relates it as the outpouring of the Spirit in the last days. That Pentecost marks the beginning of the new covenant has not been a problem for biblical scholars, but what has been a problem is the quintessence of the outpouring and its significance for the NT saints.[262] Many scholars, including

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[257] These include Abraham (e.g. Gen. 15:1-7; 17:1-2), Isaac (e.g. Gen. 26:2-6; Gen. 26:23-24), Jacob (e. g. Gen. 28:10-22; Gen. 31:3), Joshua (e.g. Jos. 7:6-12; cf. Jos. 9:14-15), David (e.g. 1 Sam. 23:1-2; 1 Sam. 30:7-8) and Solomon (e.g. 1 Kgs. 3:4-15).

[258] This is conveyed in some of characters in the Old Testament, such as the cases of Saul consulting Samuel when his father's sheep was lost (1 Sam. 20:7-20), some army officers of Israel consulting Jeremiah to speak to God to direct them where to go (Jer. 42:1-7), some priests consulting the prophetess Huldah about what to do after finding the book of the Law in the temple (2Kgs. 22:11-20 par. 2 Chr. 34:19-28) and Ahab consulting the prophets before setting out for war (1 Kgs. 22:4-28).

[259] Jud. 4:4.

[260] Jud. 3:18-19; Jud. 17:1-13; 1 Sam. 3:1; cf. 2 Chr. 15:1-3.

[261] Joel 2:28-32.

[262] It is not the interest to discuss the issue of speaking in tongues as the initial evidence of the Spirit baptism here, since it has adequately been discussed by various scholars, for example, see Robert Menzies, "Spirit Baptism and Spiritual Gifts," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of W. W. Menzies*, Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies, eds. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 48-59; William Atkinson, "Pentecostal Responses to Dunn's Baptism in the Holy Spirit," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 6 (1995): 87-131; Frederick Dale Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness*, 1970, Second Impression (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1972), 56-129; John P. Kildahl, *The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues* (New York: Harper & Row, 1 972); James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Spirit* (London: SCM, 1970); Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 40-85.

Lampe,[263] Schweizer,[264] Stronstad,[265] and Menzies,[266] have insisted that the Pentecostal Spirit in Acts is the Spirit of Prophecy prophesied by Joel.[267] Prophecy is understood in this sense as a revelation given by God and spontaneously uttered by the person.[268]

The prophethood of all believers is established by other NT writers. John sees the Spirit as prophetic in the sense that "he will speak only of what he hears, and he will tell you what is yet to come."[269] For Paul, any member of the community of believers can prophesy.[270] Some theologians, such as Wayne Grudem, Mary Evan and Gordon Fee, contend from Paul's instructions in 1 Corinthians 14:24-31 that the gift of prophecy is potentially available to all believers against the notion that it was "limited to a group of authoritative people who were known in the community as the 'prophets.'"[271] Accordingly, currently some Evangelical/Pentecostal scholars, such as Stronstad,

[263] G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit*, 1951, Second Edition (London: SPCK, 1967), 33-37, 48-52.
[264] Eduard Schweizer, "πνευμα, KTl," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds. (1956), 407-08.
[265] Roger Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of Saint Luke* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1975), 49.
[266] Robert Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Like and Acts* (Sheffield, 1994),174. 186-88.
[267] For an excellent discussion of this, see Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 1-137.
[268] As Dunn says, "it [prophecy] does not denote the delivery of a previous sermon." This is a reaction to the notion that prophecy is like preaching. James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM, 1975), 228; J. Rodman Williams, *Renewal Theology: Salvation, the Holy Spirit and Christian Living* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990), 380.
[269] Jn. 16:13.
[270] 1 Cor. 24-25, 30-31.
[271] Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 244; Wayne Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in the New Testament Today*, 1988 (Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1998), 199-200. Mary Evans, for example, analyses the explanation given to Joel's prophecy by some theologians such as Calvin, Craigie and Wolff and concludes that "in general, then, there is agreement that the prophetic ministry is seen as relating in some way to the whole people of God and that the potentiality of prophecy is there for every individual. Mary J. Evans, "The Prophethood of All Believers," in *Mission and Meaning: Essays Presented to Peter Cotterell*, Antony Billington, Tony Lane and Max Turner, eds. (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995), 35; John Calvin, *The Book of Joel* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1958), 82-83; Peter C. Craigie, *The Twelve Prophets Volume 1* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1985), 40; H. W. Wolff, *A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 66.

Evans, Volf, Shelton and McQueen, reinstate the prophethood of all believers as a NT concept.[272]

From this backdrop, the NT's concept of people possessing varied gifts, thus implying some group of people having the ability to prophesy, becomes a matter of concern.[273] However, without getting into the discussion of whether or not there is such an office as a prophet in the NT,[274] it must be said that the potential to prophesy does not mean that all will prophesy, but rather that all can prophesy. Fee's insight is of fundamental importance here; he suggests that, "for Paul as for Luke, there were some who, because they regularly functioned in this way, were known as 'prophets.'" The term is probably a designation for the latter, although the emphasis would still be on their function to build up the community."[275] Thus whereas the NT speaks of the prophethood of all believers, it does not rule out the possibility of some operating in this area more than others.

[272] Roger Stronstad, *The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 65-66; also Roger Stronstad, "The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology," in *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of W. W. Menzies*, Wonsuk Ma and Robert Menzies, eds. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 68-77; Evans, "The Prophethood of All Believers," 36-37; Miroslav Volf, "The Church as Prophetic Community and Sign of Hope," *European Journal of Theology* 2, no. 1 (1993): 9-10; James B. Shelton, *Mighty in Works and Deed: The Role of the Holy Spirit in Acts--Luke* (Hendrickson, 1991), Chapters 10&11; Larry R. McQueen, *Joel and the Spirit: The Cry of a Prophetic Hermeneutic* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 43.

[273] 1 Cor. 12:4-12, 28; Rom. 12:6; Eph.2:20; Eph 4:11; Acts 13:1; Acts 21:9-11.

[274] For such discussion, see Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy*, 183-213; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 170-72, 192, 244-57. For practical reading on it, see Graham Cooke, *Development Your Prophetic Gifting* (Kent: Sovereign World, 1994), 191-208; John Bevere, *Thus Saith the Lord: How to Know When God is Speaking to You Through Another* (Lake Mary: Creation House, 1999), 19-65.

[275] Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 192.

The functions of prophecy make it an important aspect for Church worship. For example, it edifies, encourages and comforts.[276] It can convince, judge, instruct and direct.[277] The implication of 1 Corinthians 13:2, "if I have the gift of prophecy and can fathom all mysteries and all knowledge…" is that the person who possesses the gift of prophecy can understand or know mysteries and hidden things.[278] Thus, although prophecy is often given in church worship situations, it does not rule out the possibility of revealing personal issues to individuals,[279] such as what is being currently called "personal prophecy."[280] It is another aspect of personal prophecy, diagnostic prophecy, in *abisa* that often preceeds exorcism among the Akan people. What makes such prophecy become a matter of concern is the claim of a person, under the mediacy of the Spirit, to speak somehow in an authoritative way to people's lives.

It will appear that what makes Paul spend a lot of time on prophecy in all his writings about spiritual gifts is the possibility of addressing controversial and personal issues.[281] Fee makes a suggestion, which is convincing from the context that "it was probably a misguided but heeded prophetic utterance that the Day of the Lord had already come[282] that led to the distress in Thessalonica."[283] For Paul, therefore, prophecy must not be despised but, then, all prophecies must be tested by the prophetic community (the

[276] 1 Cor. 14:3.
[277] 1 Cor. 14:24; 1 Tim. 1:18; 4:14; Acts 13:1-3;Acts 21:10-11, cf. Gal. 2:2.
[278] Compare with 1 Corinthians 14:25 "and the secret of his heart will be revealed."
[279] Cf. Acts 5:1-10; Acts 13:1-3; Acts 19:10-14; 1 Tim. 1:18; 1 Tim. 4:14.
[280] Bevere, *Thus Saith the Lord*, 55-66; Cooke, *Development Your Prophetic Gifting*, 110-23.
[281] Prophecy is mentioned in Rom. 12:6; 1 Cor. 11:4-5; 12:10-14-40; Eph. 2:20; 3:5;4:11; 1 Thess. 5:20; 1 Tim. 1:18; 4:14.
[282] 2 Thess. 2:2.
[283] Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 890.

Church).[284] The need to test prophecies becomes very important, as the implication of the testing is that such prophecies do not have independent authority.[285] As J. Rodman Williams puts it, "it [such prophetic message] is subordinate to what God has specially revealed to apostles and prophets and has been set forth in Scripture."[286]

The failure to test prophecy represents a great weakness of the "witchdemonology" ministry. Although diagnostic messages from exorcists are supposed to be tested, the awe with which the members hold prophecy makes testing almost impossible. This is an indication that the NT concept of the prophethood of all believers is not taken into serious consideration, as the privilege to receive from and speak for God is limited to a few, considered as authoritative "prophets." Yet, notwithstanding the fact that failure to test messages has led to a lack of accountability, and causes confusion among the exorcistic ministries, people prefer a bit of diagnostic messages to none in times of trouble. [287] In other words, people will patronise the churches, if they are aware that this felt need, of knowing the causation of their problems, will be met in times of trouble as in *abisa*.

It is from this backdrop that *abisa* needs to be contextualised into the framework of the NT concept of the prophethood of all believers, while taking into consideration that the gift of prophecy or revelation also shares in the general fallibility, which applies to all human gifts and functions. The Bible cautions that "for we know in part and we

[284] 1 Thess. 5:21-22; 1 Cor. 12:10; 1 Cor. 14:29.
[285] 1 Thess. 5:19-22; 1 Cor. 14:26-33.
[286] Williams, *Renewal Theology: Salvation*, 382.
[287] See Chapter Five, section 3.2.

prophesy in part."[288] This means that it is possible for any believer, whether specially gifted or not, to misunderstand or misinterpret a given revelation. Therefore, there is a need for corporate discerning of every prophetic utterance or revelation in the contextualisation of *abisa* in Christianity.

One way of doing this, that is, testing prophetic messages, is to encourage the prophethood of all believers in the churches. Individuals should be encouraged to prophesy. If God can speak through any member of the community, then, there must be a mutual respect for one another in the community, which necessarily includes submitting prophecies for testing.

Another way of contextualising *abisa* is to establish pastoral counselling in the Akan churches. Formal pastoral counselling[289] is lacking in CoP and many churches in Ghana. But what is *abisa* all about, apart from consulting a spiritual person for spiritual guidance and directive? The prayer centres are popular because there are spiritual leaders who are available to listen, lead and direct oppressed and needy people.[290]

Space will not permit a long exposition on the form and nature which such counselling should take. However, some important considerations, whose implications may be far reaching, need to be brought out here. Lessons need to be drawn from pastoral

[288] 1 Cor.13:9.
[289] By this is meant training pastors in pastoral counselling.
[290] However, as shown in Chapter Five, since these people lack training often their directives cause confusion.

counselling materials which are relevant for the purpose.[291] For example, David Augsburger[292] describes counselling as "a dynamic process of caring and exploration, with a definite structure and mutually contracted goals, and occurs within the tradition, beliefs and resources of the faith community that surrounds and supports them."[293] From this perspective, it can be inferred that the training of such counsellors should take into consideration the Akan worldview, Akan ethics and the Christian faith, especially biblical demonology as are treated in this thesis. Again, in line with Howard Clinebell's[294] description of pastoral care and counselling, Emmanuel Lartey[295] sees the importance of "one-to-one or else 'small' group relationships and the focus on individuals…and their relationships" in pastoral counselling.[296] Such one-to-one or small group encounters too are absolutely essential in Akan *abisa*. Thus it needs to be taken seriously in the training of such counsellors.

Furthermore, one of the issues which Bob Lambourne observes as lacking in the Western type of counselling can be postulated as a major ingredient for the Akan Christians' contextualisation of *abisa* as counselling, this is, "[to] experience the

[291] E. g. David Augsburger, *Pastoral Counseling Across Cultures* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986); Michael Wilson, ed., *Explorations in Health and Salvation* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Department of Theology, 1983); Howard Clinebell, *Basic Types of Pastoral Care and Counselling: Resources for Ministry of Healing and Growth* (London: SCM, 1984); Emmanuel Y. Lartey, *Pastoral Counseling in Intercultural Perspective: A Study of Some African (Ghanaian) and Anglo American Views on Human Existence and Counselling* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987); Emmanuel Y. Lartey, *In Living Colour: An Intercultural Approach to Pastoral Care and Counselling* (London: Cassell, 1997).
[292] A Western cross counselling scholar.
[293] Augsburger, *Pastoral Counseling Across Cultures*, 15.
[294] Lartey describes him as a guru of Western pastoral care and counselling. Lartey, *In Living Colour*, 2.
[295] A Ghanaian international theologian in pastoral studies and pastoral theology.
[296] Lartey, *In Living Colour*, 2. Cf. Clinebell, *Basic Types of Pastoral Care and Counselling*, 25-26.

insightful decision and power to act as grace."[297] This will be interpreted to mean the need to have prophetic insight, the ability to "divine" in counselling or what the Pentecostal theologian Stephen Parker calls being "led by the Spirit."[298] Without having prophetic insight into clients' requests and speaking prophetically to them, the sort of counselling being recommended may not be very useful. By speaking prophetically into the situation is to say that the counsellor is able to express to the client that the problem is physical, that is, for example, the clients may need to see the doctor, to forgive an offended person, or to ask for apology. Or, the problem is spiritual, that is, for example, the person may need exorcism. Or, the problem is both physical and spiritual, that is to say for example that the person should see the doctor and also pray.[299] This is not to say that counsellors should be manipulative, but rather, if the NT concept of the Church is as a prophetic community, then counsellors and other ministers should pray to function in this grace. It is this prophetic insight that is the attraction of exorcists' activities among the Akan communities. However, as has been shown, since many of them lack sound biblical knowledge and also fail to take the Akan ethics into consideration, the results have not been favourable. If these counsellors can be trained in such areas as recommended, it is hoped that the contextualised *abisa*, that is, prophetic counselling, will go a long way to strengthen not only CoP ministry but also Christianity in Ghana.

[297] Bob Lambourne, "Counselling for Narcissus or Counselling for Christ," in *Explorations in Health and Salvation*, 137.
[298] Stephen E. Parker, *Led by the Spirit: Toward a Practical Theology of Pentecostal Discernment and Decision Making* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 110-11.
[299] As has been said elsewhere in the thesis, this goes well with Akan traditional religion, since it is believed that it is the prayer that the priest offers that makes medicine effective.

4.3 Role of Exorcism

The role of exorcism should be seen as part of the means of dealing with a variety of manifestations of evil in human life. In the gospels, while Jesus sometimes cast out demons, there are some cases which appear demonic in which he does otherwise. For example, he does not cast out the demon of lust from the woman caught red-handed in the act of adultery,[300] or the woman who it is said "had lived a sinful life."[301] He does not expel the demon of lie from Peter for betraying him three times.[302] Similarly Paul does not cast out the demon of lust from the man who was having sexual relations with his father's wife, the demon of division from the saints in Corinth or the demon of slavery from the Galatians who had been bewitched.[303] Similarly the saints who fell into sin in the OT were not considered as demonised.[304]

This does not mean that exorcism should be pushed to the periphery. On the one hand, if Jesus' ministry and that of Paul's are taken into consideration, then, exorcism should not be narrowed to a special group of people who are thought to be gifted in the field, but should be opened to any member of the prophetic community. In the case of Jesus, he deals with the situations as they arose in his ministry. Similarly Paul deals with the familiar spirit during the course of his ministry. The implication of these is that there is no need to set aside a special time or place for the performance of exorcism. The prophetic community should not be limited by formal ways of services. They should be

[300] Jn. 8:1-11.
[301] Luke 7:36-47.
[302] Lk. 22:31, 22:54-60 cf. Jn. 19:15-19.
[303] 1 Cor. 5:1-5; 1 Cor. 3:1-9; Gal. 3:1-6. C.f. Leon-Joseph Suenens, *Renewal and the Powers of Darkness* (Darton: Longman Todd and Servant Publications, 1983), 17.

ready to allow the Holy Spirit to direct exorcism or healing even during a Sunday service, which is recognised as very important.

On the other hand, exorcism may be performed after a person has passed through a counselling session and it has become absolutely clear that the problem is demonic. Counsellors should be able to deal with such cases, but if the situation seems to be too complex, the client should be referred to the leadership of the church.

Arriving at a conclusion that a person's case is demonic needs extra care. From his analysis of Jesus' exorcisms, Twelftree identifies the following signs of demonic presence: extraordinary strength, indifference to the pain of the sufferer, vocalisation of distress when confronted by Jesus, and a change in the sufferer's voice.[305] Nevertheless, currently psychiatrists show that these symptoms can almost all be explained in some naturalistic way.[306] While this does not rule out the possibility of demonic presence in some cases, it shows that many cases which people consider demonic may be natural issues. Therefore, arriving at a decision of demonic activity or witchcraft possession should not be made lightly. If the counsellor has not received

[304] These include Abraham, who slept with his maid (Gen. 16:1-15); David, who slept with Uriah's wife (2 Sam. 11:1-27); Solomon for his polygamous and idolatrous life (1 Kgs.11:1-8); and Absalom who rebelled against his father (2 Sam. 15:1-12).

[305] Twelftree, *Christ Triumphant*, 70; Twelftree, "The Place of Exorcism," 32-33. See also John Richards who tries to show distinction between possession state and others. John Richards, *But Deliver Us from Evil: An Introduction to the Demonic Dimension in Pastoral Care* (London: Darton, 1974), 91-118, 156-59; John Richards, *Exorcism Deliverance and Healing: Some Pastoral and Liturgical Guidelines*, 1976, Third Edition (Nottingham: Grove Books Limited, 1990), 12-13.

[306] E. g. Gary R. Collins, "Psychological Observation on Demonism," in *Demon Possession*, 245; John White, "Commentary on Psychological Observation on Demonism," in *Demon Possession*, 253; David Brewer, "Jesus and the Psychiatrists," in *The Unseen World*, 138; Langley, "Spirit-Possession and Exorcism and Social Context," 250.

discernment or a clear prophetic insight, which must have been accepted by the client, he/she must explore all possible natural explanations.[307]

As to the techniques or methods of exorcism, preferably those used by Jesus are to be followed. Jesus' main method of exorcism is a simple word of command.[308] On one occasion, however, he appears to have engaged in a dialogue by asking the name of the demon, but the whole scenario shows that Jesus is in control.[309] Comparing Jesus' method with the ritualistic techniques used by proponents of "witchdemonology," some areas need to be reconsidered. John White has objected to the use of rituals in exorcism, since, for him, such an approach is to depend upon magic and also undermines dependence on God.[310] But Arnold observes that "magical beliefs and practices can be found in the mystery religions and even in Judaism and Christianity."[311] Drawing from David Aune's definition of magic,[312] however, he shows some distinction between religion and magic as, "in religion one prays requests

[307] The issue of discernment is controversial. For the gift of discernment of spirits, see Wayne Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982), 58-74; Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy*, 70-72; Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 171-72; Ralph P. Martin, *The Spirit and the Congregation: Studies in 1 Corinthians 12-15* (Grand Rapids, 1984), 14-15; Arnold Bittlinger, *Gifts and Graces: A Commentary on 1 Corinthians 12-14* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), 45-46. For discerning of spirits, see Yong, *Discerning the Spirit (s)*, 256-309; Timothy J. Gorringe, *Discerning of Spirit: A Theology of Revelation* (London: SCM, 1990). Parker, *Led by the Spirit*, 175-205.
[308] E.g. Mk. 1:25; Mk. 9:25.
[309] Mk 5:1-21. Onyinah, "An Examination of Akan Witchcraft," 91-95.
[310] John White, "Problems and Procedures in Exorcism," in *Demon Possession*. 296.
[311] Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic*, 18. For monotheists, such as Christians and Jews, he contends that "reliance on the aid of 'powers' betrays a lack of confidence in the one God" (p. 18).
[312] Aune gives a two-stage definition of magic. Firstly, he defines magic as "the form of religious deviance in which individual or social goals are sought by means not normally sanctioned by dominant religious institutions." He continues that "second, such religious deviance is magical only when the goals sought within the context of religious deviance are magical when attained through the management of supernatural power in such a way that the results are virtually guaranteed."[312] David E. Aune, 1915, "Magic, Magician," in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Geoffrey Bromiley, General Editor (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986), 214. Note, it is the second stage that is important to Arnold. The first part however shows that it is a dominant religion that sees some practices of others as magical. In other words, these are not considered magical by those who practise it.

from the gods; in magic one commands the gods and therefore expects guaranteed result."[313] Thus "magical practices" or rituals may not necessary be magic, if the rituals are seen as making a request to the gods. Since magico-religious practices have been prominent in Akan traditional practices, using them may be ways of communicating the biblical message to the people. But such intent is undermined if the principles go against the ethical code of the people and Scripture.

In light of this discussion, the preparing of an "atmosphere" by deliverance exponents through worship, drumming, clapping and long prayer can be accommodated, since, for them, it is a means of "entering into the Spirit" to carry out their task. These may also not cause any harm. Moreover, the conceptualisation of prayer, such as using the "fire of God" or the "axe of God," can be tolerable, since, although they show a sense of inadequacy on the part of exorcist or the clients who are praying, they do not necessarily break the Akan ethic or cause any harm. Allowing the "demons to speak" or the client to project himself/herself outwardly by speaking during exorcism may be accommodated, since it can be a way of voicing the real problem. Such speech may help the counsellor or the exorcist to tap into the main problem and follow up after the exercise.[314] However, this should be done privately and not publicly, since the utterance may cause further problems.

Nonetheless, some practices may be dangerous. These include extracting confessions publicly from self-claimed witches in order to arrest attention before exorcism, since

[313] Arnold, *Ephesians: Power and Magic*, 18.

naïve people may be responsive to suggestive stories and may assume themselves to be possessed. Again such confessions can put a social stigma on self-claimed witches who may never be accepted in society again. Confession, however, can be done privately. Furthermore, chaining of witches, and enforcing long periods of fasting and prayer on clients are quite dangerous practices, since the need for these may be an indication that the exorcists have no authority over the situations, or the problems may be natural and needing immediate medical attention. The Gospels' remark, in some cases, about the need for prayer (and fasting) in exorcism,[315] on which some exorcists base this practice, should be understood with regard to the exorcists but not the demoniacs.[316] Still again, publicity either before or after exorcism, such as writing down clients' information and announcing them publicly or recording the process of exorcism for sale should be discouraged, since they betray trust and may give the impression that exorcists are using their ministries for money.

Generally, the methods should be simple to show trust in the power of Jesus, whose death has given the believer the authority to exercise this ministry. Too much ritual may show a lack of spiritual power on the part of the exorcist and, in a way, the authority, that is, Jesus, to whom he appeals for deliverance. The focus should always be on Christ and what he has done for the world.

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[314] Following up the things brought out should be a major factor of allowing such utterances, since often the things spoken out give clues about the main problem.
[315] Cf. Mk. 9:29; and Mtt 17:21 in some versions such as the Authorised Version.
[316] Larry W. Hurtado, *New International Biblical Commentary, Mark*, 1983 (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995), 148; Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark*; 335-6; Davies and Allison jr., *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew Volume 11*, 726-27; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church Under Persecution*, 1982, Second Edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 352-53.

4.4. The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Lives of Christians

The role of the Holy Spirit in effecting the work of Christ in the life of the believer must be emphasised. That which comes out clearly from the ministry of "witchdemonology" is the ignorance of some of the adherents of their identity in Christ. Often the existential felt needs of the Akan Christians emerge, as the believers are not sure of their position in Christ. Therefore, the significance of water baptism as being a sign of the believer's identification with Christ in his death, burial and resurrection need to be highlighted.[317] The guarantee of the believers' eternal security in Christ, with all its privileges such as their election, justification and glorification must be emphasised.[318] The person of the Holy Spirit and his role in the believer's life must be stressed, especially the purpose of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which is so crucial to Pentecostal ministry.[319] In this case, stress needs to be laid on the purpose of Holy Spirit baptism as, for example, to give one power for service, full assurance of salvation, edify an individual, that is, strengthen his personality-spirit (*sunsum*),[320] and power to live the Christian life.[321] Generally there is the need for teaching basic Christian doctrines.

In connection with this, the Pentecostal Christians must be encouraged to walk in the Spirit. The prosperity gospel and the deliverance ministry may be indications that Pentecostal Christians are now walking in the flesh. Paul's (and inferred from other NT

[317] E. g. Acts 9:17-18; Acts 10:48; Rom. 6:1-14.
[318] E.g. 1 Eph. 1:3-21; Rom. 5:8; Rom. 8:28-31; Jn. 3:1-2.
[319] Opoku Onyinah, *Vital Lesson on the Holy Spirit* (Accra: Rock Publicty, 1993); Opoku Onyinah, *Basic Lesson for Christians* (Accra: Inter Participations Agency, 1991), 14-20.
[320] The Akan believes that witches cannot kill a person who has *sunsum a ayɛ den* or *duru* (whose spirit is strong or "'heavy' or 'weighty'"). See Chapter Two, section 1.4. Thus if believers edifies themselves their personality spirits become "strong" or "heavy" and witches cannot kill them.

writers) answer to believers' moral discipline or fleshly action is the Spirit or walking in the Spirit.[322] Apparently, Paul sees the greatest threat to the believer's life as the flesh. While he does not ignore the devil and his allied spirits, he, like other NT writers, realises that through the work of Christ, believers had already overcome them and are completely safe in Christ, since their lives are in hidden in Christ and their destinies are controlled by him.[323] The major area that Paul sees that the devil can use to harass the believer is by giving him ground through walking according to the flesh.[324] He realises that by walking in the Spirit, the believer is able to overcome the flesh.

Walking in the Spirit can be seen from two perspectives, that is, negatively and positively.[325] Negatively, it means abstaining from certain sins. Christians are to accept their identity "in Christ" as involving crucifixion of the flesh with its desires and passions,[326] and to reject the world with its pleasures.[327] In practice, walking in the Spirit means putting to death the former way of life[328] including fleshly deeds and the prevailing false assumption of the world. For instance, in Galatians, Paul sees witchcraft[329] as a deed of the flesh, that is, it is considered as part of the weaknesses of the inborn traits. Many of the Akan I interviewed said that they received their witchcraft from birth. This can be understood as witchcraft being part of their sinful nature, which will not be eradicated

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[321] Acts 1:8; 2 Cor. 1:22; 1 Cor. 14:3; Acts 11:18; Rom. 8:9-16.
[322] E.g. Gal. 5:16, cf. 2 Pet. 1:3; 1 Jn. 3:9.
[323] Col. 3:3; Rom. 8:37-39; cf. 1 Jn. 5:18
[324] Eph. 4:20.
[325] Cf. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, 881.
[326] E.g. Gal. 2:20; Gal. 5:24.
[327] Rom. 12:2, cf. 1 Jn. 2:15. Jam. 4:4.
[328] Rom. 6:1-10; Col. 3:5-9. See Opoku Onyinah, *Are Two Persons the Same?: How to Overcome Your Weaknesses in Temperament* (Accra: The Church of Pentecost, 1991), 93-101.
[329] Witchcraft is specifically chosen here with the view that it has been a major subject in the discussions in this thesis.

when they become Christians. Thus once they become Christians, they need to count themselves dead, and must not give in to the deeds of the flesh.[330]

Christians should also not allow what Cox describes as the "[worldly] false ethic to dictate the meaning of life to them," amassing wealth as signs of God's blessing or be trapped into "[the prosperity gospel or] the empty values of consumer market culture."[331]

Yet Christians cannot do all this by their own power. It is the Spirit that enables them to overcome the flesh and the world by providing both moral safeguard and moral directive, which render the flesh ineffective.[332]

Positively, walking in the Spirit means putting oneself to the service of godliness or righteousness.[333] This means that the Spirit enables Christians to demonstrate the sort of behaviour which God requires of his people. Believers' lifestyles, therefore, are to have direct relevance to how they treat one another and behave in the world. Here again they cannot do this in their own power. As the term "fruit" indicates in Galatians 5:21, it is the Spirit that reproduces the life of Christ in them.[334] All the same, believers are not to be passive, they must walk by and adhere to the Spirit.

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[330] For the Galatians Paul had earlier told the Galatians that they should "not use their freedom to indulge in the sinful nature." For if they "keep on biting and devouring each other," they should "watch out" or they "will be destroyed by each other" (Gal. 5:13-15). Thus here it is manifestation of the flesh among Christian community that brings destruction. The antidote to this, as Paul explains, is walking in the Spirit.

[331] Harvey Cox, "'Pentecostalism and the Global Market Culture': A Response to Issues Facing Pentecostalism in a Postmodern World," in *The Globalization of Pentecostalism: A Religion Made to Travel*, Murray A. Dempster, D. Klaus Byron and Douglas Petersen, eds. (Oxford: Regnum, 1999), 394.

[332] E. g. Gal. 5: 25.

[333] Rom. 6:13; Rom. 12:2; Col. 3:10; 2 Pet. 1:3-10.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there are similarities between "witchdemonology" and the demonic in the Bible. The simple belief in the reality of the demonic stood out in this area. Some remarkable dissimilarities were also identified. Principal among them was the sovereignty of God, which reigns supreme in biblical demonology, making the demonic of secondary importance in accomplishing the purpose of God, as against the preoccupation of this among proponents of "witchdemonology." From this perspective, contextualisation was extended to include the recognition of God's control among the Akan Pentecostals' concept of God. *Abisa* was contextualised into the NT concept of the prophethood of all believers where every revelation was to be subjected to testing by the Church. Again, it was submitted that *abisa* could be considered as prophetic counselling, where those with specific needs could be attended to. Exorcism was recommended to be seen as part of dealing with the area of sin in human life and not as an end in itself. It was also suggested that teaching the basic Christian doctrines should be an important aspect in all the churches. The final point handled showed that an alternative to deliverance is walking in the Spirit, by putting to death all the actions of the flesh and yielding oneself to the services of God.

[334] Fung, *Galatians*, 262.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined the exorcistic ministry of the Church of Pentecost with reference to Akan witchcraft. To make out the relation between them, a hypothesis was put forward assuming that underneath the major revival movements in Ghana there is *abisa* (divinatory-consultation). The very nature of this hypothesis brought out another conjecture that the issue of exorcism poses problems for Christianity in Ghana, because *abisa*, which is an integral part of Akan traditional religion and which often precedes or includes exorcism, has not been effectively contextualised into Akan Christian theology. The nature of the topic necessitated an interdisciplinary approach, although with a theological focus. The argument of the thesis was therefore that to understand the current practices of deliverance in CoP, there was a need to go back to the Akan culture and find parallels, and then attempt to contextualise these into the Christian concept of exorcism. The point was not that the traditional culture and the modern context of deliverance were interchangeable, neither was it that the issues involved were always the same. Rather, it showed that the current practices of exorcism in CoP might have their denotations and roots in the culture, events and thoughts of the past.

Throughout the thesis it was argued that the Pentecostal type of exorcism, though performed under the guise of the Christian faith, was strongly based on the Akan

cosmology, and that both the exorcists and their methods have *abisa* as their framework. The reasons, as was demonstrated, lay in the concept of the Akan spirit world. The Akan cosmos was filled with pantheons of spirit-forces beginning with the Supreme Being, *Onyankopong*. While *Onyankopong* was considered all-powerful, he had left the administration of the world to his regents, the *abosom* (gods). While *abosom* working through their *akɔmfoɔ* (priests) could be helpful, they were generally considered unpredictable. They and the other spirits, including *mmoatia* (fairies), *sasabonsam* (the forest monster) and *sasa* (vindictive revengeful ghosts) could team up with the witches to attack people. Thus the principal evil was attributed to *abayifoɔ* (the witches). For the Akan, a healthy life revolved around the chief and the family, who would have to safeguard the people against these threatening forces spearheaded by witches. An individual or the family head often accomplished this duty through "putting the heads of his subjects" under the protection of the gods. The continued sustenance of an abundant life, that is protection, health and prosperity, was through solidarity with the commandments of the gods, such as the observance of taboos and festivals, given to the ancestors for the smooth running of the state.

Disaster meant that there was a problem somewhere else. Accordingly, a powerful spiritual person, who could divine, was consulted to find out the causes of the problem. The prognostications often pointed to *bayie* (witchcraft) as the major contributory factor to the problem. Since the powerful spirit people and their prognostications were very important, every new *suman* or *ɔbosom* (deity) and the procedures for finding witches

were being controlled by the chiefs. The Pentecostal concept of exorcism was shown to begin from this backdrop.

The findings also revealed that Akan witchcraft, *bayie*, was a complex issue, sometimes portrayed as material and at other times immaterial, that is, it had acceptable contradictions. The analysis of data revealed that *bayie* was considered an inherent potency internalised in some human beings as part of their personality; the witches being those who were able to project their minds to effect something good or evil, although it was thought that most of them used *bayie* for evil. After a survey of various interpretations given by some researchers into Akan witchcraft, the dissociative experience claimed by some people was put forth as a possible interpretation of the claims for Akan witchcraft. Here also, the examination of our data revealed that for some self-claimed witches the so-called ability to project their minds outward to cause things to happen was considered witchcraft. Thus the findings confirmed the claim that the Akan concept of "humanity and personality" was the psychological framework for Akan witchcraft beliefs.

The research also showed that for the traditional Akan, witchcraft could only be minimised or the evil side of it healed. The anti-witchcraft shrines became popular because they claimed "to take away" or "exorcise" witchcraft. The proliferation of these shrines was linked with the disintegration of traditional institutions, especially the chieftaincy, and by the colonial government. This resulted in the lack of control of new *suman* ("fetishes") or *abosom* (deities), as the colonial masters did not have enough

knowledge of the Akan system. The rapid growth of these anti-witchcraft shrines in a disordered society was an indication that they were serving the needs of the people, specifically through the consultation days (*abisa da*) and their claim to "exorcise" witchcraft. Yet the colonial government had to suppress them because of unhealthy reports it received about the activities of the shrines. The result was blockage to channels of *abisa* through which people could express their fears.

Christianity became popular in Ghana during this period. Being influenced by the ideological background in their countries of origin, missionaries' activities centred on evangelisation to Christianity and "civilisation" of the people. Consequently, on the one hand, the missionaries taught that the belief in the spirit forces was superstitious, yet on the other hand, they also presented the devil and demons as the power behind these spirit forces. The study further revealed that as the missionaries also drew a line of demarcation between Akan culture and Christianity (or westernisation), everything from the "Whites" was considered godly, while everything Akan was seen as devilish. Eventually, Christianity created three divisions in Akan society: "traditional people," "dual allegiance people" and "mission-oriented people." There were always conflicts among these three groups. While the traditional people persisted that the mission-oriented people should participate in cultural activities, the mission-oriented group initiated exclusion from membership of the Church of the dual allegiance people, who took part in traditional and social gatherings and also consulted the *abosom* for *abisa*, since, for these mission-oriented people, such observances meant participating in "pagan" practices.

Nevertheless, the introduction of a personalised devil and the association of the gods with demons by missionaries meant the strengthening of the belief in witchcraft. Their attitudes, however, showed that they failed to provide for the holistic needs of the people. Consequently, there sprang up a prophetic ministry whose mission came to fruition in the Spiritual churches. *Abisa* (divination -consultation) or what was identified as "prophetism," especially in relation to exorcism, which was a blend of Akan religious spectrum and Christian beliefs and practices, was the attraction. While these attracted a lot of adherents, the weaknesses of these churches, such as the lack of accountability, paved the way for the popularity of CoP.

From the classical Pentecostal background, exorcism was part of the service of the Apostolic Church, out of which CoP emerged, though no great prominence was given to it. The Latter Rain team's ministry in Ghana paved the way for the practice of *abisa* to break forth within the exorcistic ministry of the Apostolic Church. The effect of the visit eventually caused a split in the Church, the majority going with James McKeown, AC's missionary, and their group was renamed as "The Church of Pentecost," the minority remaining with AC. Like other classical Pentecostals, CoP initially resisted those who attempted to make exorcism a specialty and by adding to it a wide spectrum of Akan religious practices.

Nonetheless, in the 1980s, through the influence of the global Charismatic renewal in Christianity, a distinct ministry, here termed "witchdemonology" developed in

Ghanaian Christianity, particularly in CoP. This ministry was the amalgamation of Akan traditional religion, preaching and the media materials and practices of some Western evangelists, and other Christian beliefs and practices. The claims of the proponents of "witchdemonology" was that a person could get engrossed in all that constituted Christian or Pentecostal spirituality and yet continue to sin, be demonised and blocked from blessing or progress in life; the problem was witchcraft, demonic activities and ancestral curses. Camps run by lay people and formed on the pattern of the shrines had been established to cater for these needs. *Abisa* was pinpointed as central to this ministry, since the focus of proponents was to identify and break down the so-called demonic forces (whether in an individual's life or at a corporate level) by the power of God in order to "deliver" people from their torment.

Analysis of the data collected from interviews revealed that "deliverance" exposed hidden ideas and fears in the framework of an imaginary world and often employed the realm of the demonic and witchcraft in order to articulate experiences. The conflicts between individuals and their families were projections of conflicts within people. This also implied that the family remained the basis of social life. Demonisation or self-claimed witchcraft often offered the possibility of bringing out hidden and obsessive sexual desires; often such repressed desires were also reflected in people's dreams. The personification of alleged witches in deliverance enabled people to face and explain their problems and confront their hidden envy, jealousy, anger or failure in this modern world from a safe distance. Thus most of the "demons" and "witch spirits" exorcised

centred on deliberations of family issues, sexual desires and negative human behaviours which were conceptualised in the forms of demons and witches.

"Witchdemonology" was therefore presented as the new form of Akan witchcraft, operating as a very important aspect of modernity. However, the strength of "witchdemonology," as it emerged, lay in postmodernity, where the traditional religion and Christianity could peacefully coexist with all their contradictions as a coherent theology. Viewed from this angle, this finding was in agreement with earlier research made on other ethnic groups in Africa by scholars such as Peter Geschiere, Elizabeth Colson, Birgit Meyer, Jean and John Comaroff and Jane Parish.[1]

But the thesis differed from these scholars when it came to determining the underlying factor of the current exorcistic ministry. While the general opinion was that the ultimate aim of deliverance ministry, or "breaking with the past" as Meyer puts it, was to become modernised or a modern individual,[2] this thesis contends that *abisa* (divinatory-consultation) or an inquiry into the sacred and the search for meaning underlies the current deliverance ministry. Here the thesis identified with Harvey Cox's

[1] Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997); 198-214; Elizabeth Colson, "The Father as Witch," *Africa* 70, no. 3 (2000): 333-58; Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 213-216; Birgit Meyer, "Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXVII, no. 3 (1998): 316-49; Birgit Meyer, "Commodities and Power of Prayer: Pentecostalist Attitudes Toward Consumption in Contemporary Ghana," *Development and Change* 29 (1998): 751-76; Jean and John Comaroff, "Introduction," in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, eds. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), xi-xxxvii. Jane Parish, "The Dynamics of Witchcraft and Indigenous Shrines Among the Akan," *Africa* 69, no. 3 (1999): 427-47.

[2] Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 215-16; Meyer, "Make a Complete Break," 102; Meyer, "'Delivered from the Powers of Darkness,'" 237-255; Jean and John Comaroff, "Introduction," in *Modernity and Its*

discovery that Pentecostalism was the recovery of "primal spirituality"[3] and that of Thomas Csordas' finding that "the sacred self" was the centre of Charismatic healing and deliverance ministry in North America.[4]

The proliferation of the camps, and thus "witchdemonology" within CoP was linked with the outcome of a social order under examination by its subjects. It appeared that the church, or rather appropriately, the pastors, had left behind their spiritual vigour of the 1960s and the 1970s, which had helped them meet the spiritual needs of people and ultimately led to the growth of the Church. Since wealth accompanied the growth, a pastor's (and other officer's) financial strength depended on the type of church he led, and his transfer could be influenced by his immediate superior officer(s); this led to power struggles and the politics of leadership.

"Witchdemonology" was recognised on evaluation as a representation of a remarkable contribution to a paradigm shift in Christianity among the Akan. It was considered a further attempt to contextualise the gospel to the African people, beside those of the Spiritual churches and African theology. Nonetheless, its preoccupation with demonisation and its exorcistic practices were found to bring Christianity into tension with Akan culture, family ties and other religions. Furthermore, in some supposed demonic cases, frequent exorcisms worsened victims' conditions, as it was evident

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Malcontents, xxviii; Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft*, 5-6; Colson, "The Father as Witch," *Africa* 70, no. 3 (2000): 333-58; Parish, "The Dynamics of Witchcraft "427-47.

[3] Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Cassell, 1996), 281-84.

[4] See Thomas Csordas, *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing* (London: University of California Press, 1994), 15-24. This has been explained elsewhere in the thesis as the search for meaning in life.

through the analysis that their cases needed other treatments. Additionally, in some ways, exorcism was found to be an instrument for oppressing the poor.

Therefore, in response to the call to develop a "properly safeguarded ministry of exorcism"[5] in the Church of Africa, referred to in the introduction, contextualisation was attempted to offer some theological and pastoral reflections on the topic.

It emerged through the contextualisation process that there were similarities as well as dissimilarities between "witchdemonology" and the "demonic" in the Bible. While there was the simple belief in the reality of a complex spirit world in both of them, of particular significance was the emphasis on the sovereignty of God in the Bible, which leaves little space for the freedom of Satan and the allied spirits. They could only operate by permission and within the limitations defined by God. This was the major flaw of 'witchdemonology,' which, patterned after Akan cosmology, made it appear that people were always at the mercy of the unrestrained evil powers. Therefore, contextualisation was carried out to include the recognition of God's sovereign rule and control among the Akan Pentecostals' concept of God. *Abisa* was contextualised into the biblical concept of prayer, particularly the New Testament concept of the prophethood of all believers where every revelation was to be subjected to testing by the Church. Again, it was submitted that *abisa* could be developed as prophetic counselling, where those with specific needs could be attended to. Exorcism was to be seen as part of dealing with the area of sin in

[5] John V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision -Christian Presence Amid African Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1963), 211. See also Mary Douglas, "Sorcery Accusation Unleashed: The Lele Revisited," *Africa* 69, no. 2 (2000): 190,; M. L. Daneel, "Exorcism as a Means of Combating Wizardry: Liberation or

human life and not as end in itself. Walking in the Spirit was considered to be a better alternative to constant exorcism for Christians.

The limitations of the research presented here include the fact that as a pastor and a theologian, I began the project expecting to address some of the problems that I had already observed in the deliverance ministry. My serving on the leadership team of CoP might also have influenced me not to see or bring out clearly some relevant issues. Although I tried to put this aside to allow the hypotheses to emerge from the data, this might not always be reflected objectively.

The findings of this thesis, however, bring out some implications for CoP. The current deliverance ministry is not new, but has persisted in different forms, not only in CoP, but also in the history of Ghana's religiosity. Its symbols, rituals, methodologies, languages and images are well rooted in the culture and traditional religions. Therefore, this ministry needs to be considered within the main structure of the Church and a proper theological framework introduced. Pushing it to the periphery may cause it to resurface with varied problems at different times. Again, the growth of the church has brought along new challenges to its ministry and administration. Thus the church would need to reconsider its general administrative structure and the training of ministers.

Furthermore, the demonisation of the Akan culture by the proponents of "witchdemonology" brings Akan Christians into tension with their traditional people

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Enslavement," *Missionalia* 18, no. 1 (1990): 225. Paul Gifford, "Ghanaian Charismatic Churches," *Journal of African Religion* 64, no. 3 (1994): 255 cf. 241-46. Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 174.

and their extended family system, and promotes the western concept of the "nuclear family." The result is the indirect promotion of individualism, motivating some Christians to avoid the support of the extended family on the ground of witchcraft issues. In addition, the demonisation of other religions does not promote ecumenism or advance a peaceful atmosphere in Ghana, a country of different religions. Thus the church needs to address these two areas.

Although the project was specifically carried out about the Akan and CoP in Ghana, the findings may have a wider application for the various ethnic groups and churches throughout Africa. Various sources used in the project show that divinatory-consultation, which comes in different forms like diagnostic prophecies, prognostications and predictions, underlie most African cultures and some exorcistic ministries.[6] Consequently, the proliferation of deliverance ministry all over African Christianity, as implied in the thesis, shows the extent to which what the thesis calls "witchdemonology" has permanently been accepted into African Christianity. Yet it appears that the contextualisation process in Africa is slowly taking place. The findings here may be helpful to these churches in their attempt to address their particular situations.

[6] For example, see Bengt G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 1948, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 236; Allan Anderson, "African Pentecostalism and the Ancestor Cult: Confrontation or Compromise?" *Missionalia* 21, no. 1 (April 1993): 128-29; Ruth Marshall, "'Power in the Name of Jesus': Social Transformation and Pentecostalism in Western Nigeria 'Revisited'," in *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth-Century Africa: Essays in Honour of A. H. M. Kirk-Greene,*

While the thesis has been exploratory in nature, several subjects which appear to need additional investigation include the following. Firstly, the impact and implications of prophecy in Pentecostal Christianity need to be further researched. Secondly, the liturgical structure that will include healing and deliverance ministry in normal African church services needs to be investigated. Thirdly, the role and nature of counselling for African churches needs to be worked at. Finally, the administrative structures that will suit African churches and minimise schism needs to be explored.

It is hoped that this project has contributed to the on-going development of African Christian theology.

Terence Ranger and Olufemi Vaughan, eds. (London: Macmillan in Association with St. Anthony's College, Oxford, 1993), 213-46.

The Appendices are not available in the digital version of this thesis

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